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19 AUGUST 1988



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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

# Soviet Union Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-88-033

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19 AUGUST 1988

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**UkSSR Passes Law on Public Discussion of State Life**

18000523 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
7 Jun 88 p 2

[Article by UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman V. Shevchenko and UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Secretary N. Khomenko: "On the Public Discussion of important Questions in the State Life of the Ukrainian SSR"]

[Text] The continued intensification of socialist democracy and the development of self-government of the people presuppose the expansion of the real possibilities for every citizen of the Ukrainian SSR to exercise his constitutional right to participate in the management of state and public affairs and in the discussion of drafts of laws and decisions of all-union, republic and local importance, as well as major questions of public life presented for discussion by the public organizations in accordance with their directive tasks.

The present Law is called upon to provide the conditions for the participation of citizens in working out decisions on the important questions of state and public life on the basis of broad glasnost, juxtaposition and consideration of different opinions and proposals of the workers.

**I. General Regulations**

**Article 1. Public discussion of important questions of state life in the Ukrainian SSR**

In accordance with the UkSSR Constitution, the drafts of laws and other important questions of the republic's state life may be submitted for public discussion.

Drafts of laws and other important questions are presented for public discussion by the UkSSR Supreme Soviet or the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

**Article 2. Public discussion of important questions of local significance**

Decisions on important questions of local significance which touch upon the interests of the population living in the appropriate territory are made by the Soviets of People's Deputies and their executive committees after preliminary public discussion of these questions.

Questions of local importance are presented for public discussion by the Soviets or their executive committees.

**Article 3. UkSSR legislation on discussion of important questions of state life**

The order of public discussion of important questions on UkSSR state life, as well as public discussion of important questions of local significance is defined by the

present Law on the basis of the USSR Law "On all-people's discussion of important questions of state life", as well as by other laws of the UkSSR.

**Article 4. Participation of UkSSR citizens in the discussion**

The citizens of the UkSSR are ensured free participation in the discussion of important questions of state and public life.

Citizens of the UkSSR have the right to participate directly in the discussion of questions of republic and local importance, as well as through public organizations, labor collectives, meetings held at their place of residence, public volunteer organizations, meetings of military servicemen within their military units, and through means of mass information.

Any direct or indirect limitations of the rights of UkSSR citizens to participate in the discussion which are based on their origin, social or property status, race and national affiliation, sex, education, language, attitude toward religion, duration of residence in the given area, or type and character of employment are prohibited.

**Article 5. Participation of public organizations and labor collectives in preparing for and conducting discussions**

Organizations of the CPSU, trade unions, the Komsomol, cooperative, women, veterans of war and labor, and other public organizations and labor collectives all participate in the preparation and implementation of discussions on important questions in state and public life.

**Article 6. Participation of Soviet deputies in preparing for and conducting discussions**

The deputies of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet and the local Soviets of People's Deputies participate in preparing for and conducting discussions of important questions on the state and public life of the republic, as well as important questions of local significance.

**Article 7. Provision for conducting discussions**

The Soviets of People's Deputies make provision for conducting discussions of important questions of republic and local significance.

**Article 8. Glasnost in conducting discussions**

Discussions are conducted on the basis of broad glasnost. Drafts of laws and other important questions of state life presented for discussion are published in the press, publicized on television and radio, or brought to the attention of the public by some other means.

The means of mass information comprehensively illuminate the course of the discussion, publish the proposals and comments of citizens, state agencies, public organizations and labor collectives, as well as reviews of the proposals and comments received. They also serve to inform about the results of the discussion.

#### **Article 9. Discussion-related expenses**

The expenses associated with the discussion of drafts of laws and other important questions of state life, as well as with the public discussion of outlines of the decisions of local Soviets of People's Deputies and their executive committees, are borne by the state.

#### **Article 10. Responsibility for violating legislation on discussion**

Officials of state and public agencies who allow violations of the current Law, as well as those hindering a citizen of the UkSSR from freely exercising his right to participate in the discussion, bear the responsibility specified by law.

### **II. Order of Public Discussion**

#### **Article 11. Questions presented for public discussion**

Presented for public discussion are the drafts of laws and the decisions which touch upon the primary directions of political, economic, social and cultural development of the republic, including large-scale scientific-technical and ecological problems whose solution requires the application of significant national economic resources, the implementation of constitutional rights, freedoms and responsibilities of Soviet citizens, as well as other important questions of state life related to the administration of the UkSSR.

#### **Article 12. Order of presenting questions for public discussion**

Drafts of laws and other questions are presented for public discussion by decision of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet or by the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. These decisions are adopted at their own initiative or upon recommendation of the oblast or Kiev City Soviet of People's Deputies. Recommendations regarding the expediency of presenting a draft of a law or some other question for public discussion may be submitted by the permanent commissions of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet, the UkSSR Council of Ministers, the republic organs of public organizations, or other agencies and persons who submit a draft of a law or some other question to the UkSSR Supreme Soviet or its Presidium in accordance with the law.

Drafts of laws and materials on other questions are published in the newspapers RADYANSKA UKRAINA, PRAVDA UKRAINY, or other republic newspapers. If necessary, they are published in the local

press no later than 10 days after the decision has been made to present them for public discussion. They may also be published in specialized periodical publications or reproduced by some other means.

At the time the question is presented for public discussion, the UkSSR Supreme Soviet or its Presidium determine the time and order of organization of the work on reviewing the proposals and comments received in the course of the public discussion, assigns the performance of this work to the appropriate permanent commissions of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet, or creates a special commission for this purpose.

#### **Article 13. Organization of discussion of drafts of laws and other questions**

The republic and local soviet and other state agencies, and the managers of enterprises, institutions and organizations, work in conjunction with public organizations to ensure broad discussion of the drafts of laws and other questions, and create the necessary conditions for this discussion.

Citizens may direct their proposals and comments regarding the drafts of laws and other questions presented for public discussion directly to the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium or to the executive committee of the local Soviet of People's Deputies, or other state and public agencies.

Drafts of laws and other questions presented for public discussion may be discussed at the sessions of the Soviets, at the meetings of their agencies, deputy groups, public organizations or labor collectives, at meetings of citizens at their place of residence, at meetings of public volunteer agencies, at meetings of military servicemen at their military units, in the press, or on television and radio.

#### **Article 14. Generalization of proposals and comments**

Proposals and comments received in the course of the public discussion are generalized respectively by the executive committees of the local Soviets of People's Deputies and other state and public agencies, or by the means of mass information. The indicated agencies may form commissions and working groups in order to generalize the proposals and comments received. The proposals and comments in their generalized form are forwarded to the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

#### **Article 15. Summarizing the public discussion**

The proposals and comments of citizens, labor collectives, state and public agencies on a draft of a law or some other question are forwarded to the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. They are reviewed and considered for improvement of the project outline by the appropriate permanent commissions of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet or by a special commission, or else by

the agency which introduced the question to the UkSSR Supreme Soviet or its Presidium. Preparatory commissions and work groups may be formed to conduct a preliminary review of the suggestions and comments. These commissions may include the people's deputies, appropriate specialists, leaders in science and culture, and representatives of state and public agencies and scientific institutions.

The means of mass information regularly inform the public about the proposals and comments received and, in the course of their examination, organize a clarification of the statutes of the drafted law or other question presented for public discussion.

The results of the public discussion of the draft of the law or other question are reviewed by the UkSSR Supreme Soviet or the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, respectively, and the public is informed of these results.

The proposals and comments which do not pertain to the subject of the drafted law or other question under discussion are forwarded according to their appurtenance to the appropriate state and public agencies, which review them in the established order.

#### **Public Discussion of Important Questions of Local Significance**

##### **Article 16. Questions presented for public discussion**

Outlines of decisions of local Soviets of People's Deputies and their executive committees on the plans for comprehensive economic and social development and the budget, on provision of socialist legislation, on preservation of law and order and protection of the rights of citizens, on the work of enterprises, institutions and organizations associated with consumer services, and on other important questions of state, economic and social-cultural construction on site are all presented for public discussion.

The decisions of local Soviets on questions of environmental protection, administrative-territorial improvements, housing construction, development of public health, public education, transport, trade, public catering, planning and development of territories, preservation and use of historical and cultural monuments, and acceptance of electoral executive orders are, as a rule, adopted only after public discussion.

##### **Article 17. Order of presenting questions for public discussion**

The presentation of outlines of decisions by local Soviets of People's Deputies and their executive committees, as well as other questions for public discussion is done by the local Soviet or its executive committee at its initiative, as well as at the suggestion of permanent Soviet commissions, deputy groups, deputies, organs of public

organizations or labor collectives, meetings of citizens at their place of residence, or other agencies and organizations specified by the UkSSR legislation.

Outlines of decisions of local Soviets and their executive committees and materials on other questions presented for discussion are published in the local press or brought to the attention of the public by some other means no later than 10 days after the decision has been made to present these matters for discussion.

Concomitant with the presentation of the question for public discussion, the local Soviet or its executive committee set a time and an order for organizing work on reviewing the proposals and comments received in the course of the discussion, and assign the fulfillment of this task to the appropriate permanent commissions of the local Soviet, or create a special commission for this purpose.

##### **Article 18. Organizing the discussion of outlines of decisions and other questions**

Working in conjunction with public organizations, local soviet and other state agencies, managers of enterprises, institutions and organizations provide for the broad discussion of the outlines of decisions of oblast, rayon, city, city rayon, settlement, and rural Councils of People's Deputies and their executive committees, as well as of other questions presented for public discussion, and create the necessary conditions for this.

Citizens may direct their proposals and comments regarding the outlines of decisions and other questions of local importance to the appropriate Soviet, its executive committee, or other state and public agencies.

The outlines of decisions and other questions presented for public discussion may first be reviewed at the sessions of the subordinate Soviets, at meetings of their executive and administrative organs, permanent commissions, or deputy groups, or at the meetings of public organizations, labor collectives, citizens at their place of residence, volunteer groups, or military servicemen at their military units. They may also be discussed in the local press, on television and radio.

##### **Article 19. Generalization and review of proposals and comments**

Proposals and comments received in the course of the discussion are generalized respectively by the executive committees of the subordinate Soviets of People's Deputies, other state and public agencies, or by the means of mass information. The indicated organs may form commissions and work groups in order to generalize the received proposals and comments. The proposals and comments in generalized form are then forwarded to the executive committee of the appropriate Soviet.

The proposals and comments which have been forwarded to the Soviet executive committee are reviewed and considered in developing the project by the permanent commissions of the Soviet, or by a special commission created for this purpose, as well as in practical application.

The local press, television and radio regularly inform the public about proposals and comments received in the course of their review. They also organize a clarification of the positions of the outlined decision and other questions presented for discussion.

The proposals and comments which by their content relate to the administration of superior state agencies are forwarded to them for review.

Proposals and comments which do not relate to the subject of the outline of the decision or other question under discussion are reviewed by the Soviet executive

committee and forwarded according to their appurtenance to the appropriate state and public agencies, which review them in the established order.

**Article 20. Informing the public of the results of discussion of the outlines of decisions and other questions**

The results of the discussion of outlines of decisions and other questions subject to review by the Soviet of People's Deputies are reported by the executive committee or the appropriate permanent commission or other commission at the session of the Soviet, and brought to the attention of the public.

The results of discussion of the outlines of decisions and other questions subject to review by the Soviet executive committee are reported at the meeting of the executive committee and brought to the attention of the public.

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**Former Party Official Defends Remarks on Distortions in Uzbek History**

18300317 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
21 Jun 88 p 3

[Article by Professor M. Vakhabov, doctor of historical sciences; "The Truth and Only the Truth"; first two paragraphs are PRAVDA VOSTOKA introduction]

[Text] The editors did not intend to open a controversy by publishing Professor M. Vakhabov's article entitled "Notwithstanding the Truth of History" on 4 December 1986 [for a translation of this article see pages 40-45 of the USSR REPORT: POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS, JPRS-UPS-87-026, dated 3 April 1987]. However, one has flared up—and not only on the pages of our newspaper. Numerous authors have supported M. Vakhabov's article, but sharply critical opinions about it, which often spill over into a personal attack, have also been heard....

It would have been logical to have provided the author of the article, which began the controversy, an opportunity to conclude it with an article by him. For a number of "objective" and subjective reasons, such an opportunity was not offered. In publishing his article entitled "The Truth and Only the Truth" today, the editors are, on the one hand, ending this spontaneous discussion and, on the other hand, providing M. Vakhabov an opportunity to reply to the criticism aimed at him. It is necessary to do this in order to avoid false rumors during our time of glasnost.

After my article entitled "Notwithstanding the Truth of History" which was devoted to the decisions of the Third Plenum of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee was published on 4 December 1986 in PRAVDA VOSTOKA, several articles by historians on these same problems appeared in the newspaper. Critical comments on ideological work were expressed and practical suggestions were made. They were talking about the shortcomings permitted during the period of stagnation and offering specific ideas for their elimination. For some reason, however, the material was published as a discussion of my article.

A selection of four articles "in favor of" and three articles "against" my article was published on 1 March 1987. These contained questions posed to me by Professor M. Rasuln, which I had to answer. I wrote a reply and sent it to the editors. The newspaper, however, stopped publication of these articles, and the discussion begun on its pages subsided. This deprived me of an opportunity to answer my opponents and opened up an opportunity for certain scholars, literary critics and even students to speak out against me—yes, and several times in the press, on radio and television, in various "roundtables," and during conferences and meetings.

If one omits various details, the main point of these presentations is reduced to the following. I, an historian, am incompetent to express my opinion about the creativity of writers and poets; being at one time a directing worker, I apparently had participated in the destruction of writers and hung "labels" on them; my critical comments aimed at cultural figures of the Twenties carry the imprint of "slandering," which was typical of the personality cult period; in the past, I was dissatisfied with former directors of the academy and that is why, they say, I have now settled personal scores with them.

Meanwhile, my article did not contain an analysis of the creativity of some writer or other and of the activity of individual historical persons, but covered only those questions on which the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Plenum concentrated its attention. The subject concerned not only literature but also the restructuring of historical science and the strengthening of the masses' communist indoctrination.

I later received two articles from A. Khudaybergenov, who expressed doubts about the competency of an historian to speak about literature twice in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA (18 March and 22 July 1987). Both of his articles pointed out that literary criticism has its own laws and its own peculiarities that are easily understood only by literary critics and that the evaluation of writers' works is an exclusive right of literary critics and a forbidden zone for historians, orientalists, etc.

However, is it not necessary to examine for whom the writer composes his works? Does he really do this not for readers but for the evaluations of literary critics? Why does the reader, including the historian, not have the right to express his judgment on some literary work or other?

I am an historian and I do not pretend to the high knowledge of a literary critic although I have studied in the social and literary department of the Samarkand Pedagogical Academy where Khamid Alimdzhani; Aydin Sabirova, the Uzbek poetess; and Uygun, the now thriving national poet and Hero of Socialist Labor, also studied. I completed the department along with Mirtemir, a national poet of Uzbekistan; Shukur Sagdulla, the writer; and others. The ethnic history of the Uzbek socialist nation, which embraces all areas, including literature and art, is the subject of my research. The monograph "The Formation of the Uzbek Socialist Nation"—the result of 15 years of work—was put forward in the competition for the scholarly degree of doctor of sciences. During the 60 years of my pedagogical and scientific work, I have prepared more than 50 candidates and 15 doctors of science, the absolute majority of whom have defended dissertations on the history of culture, literature and public education.

Doesn't all of this really give me the right to express my opinion about the works of P. Kadyrov or M. Makhmudov? Especially my opinion of Babur, Sultan Khuseyn,

Amir Umar Khan, and other khan-poets. It appears that historians not only have a right to talk about them but also are obliged to do this and to evaluate whether the artistic work corresponds to historical reality in accordance with its specific historical subject.

This, however, is from the area of theory.

Here it is from life. They write the following about me: "It is of some use to recall that M. Vakhobov as a scholar and historian and as a responsible party worker actively participated in the 'destruction' of Aybek's novel 'Navoi,' A. Kakhkhar's 'The Fires of Koshchinar,' and the 'Alpamys' national epos, detecting in them 'slander,' 'idealization' and other 'ideological errors' and hanging 'political labels' on the writers."

Such events did in fact occur almost 40 years ago, but I had nothing to do with them.

Yes, I was a secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee prior to May 1950. It was during that period that the republic celebrated the 500th anniversary of Alisher Navoi. Almost all of his important works as well as "Baburnama" were published for the first time in the Uzbek and Russian languages, and Aybek's novel "Navoi" was reissued. A dramatic play and movie films entitled "Alisher Navoi" were created. Not only were the heroic epics "Alpamysh" and "Gerogly" issued but musical dramas were created about him. The musical drama "Farkhad and Shirin" was remade. Operas were written based on the musical drama "Takhir and Zuhra" and "Gulsara," the first ballets using Uzbek national literary motifs—"Gulandom," "Sukhayl and Mekhri," etc.—came into existence. The "Anthology of Uzbek Poetry" was prepared and published in the Uzbek and Russian languages under the editorship of Aybek. I as a Central Committee secretary, Izzat Sultanov as deputy chairman for culture of the Council of Ministers, and Resul Gulamov and M. I. Sheverdin as my deputies, headed all of this work.

During this period, not only were Aybek and A. Kakhkhar not accused but also no one in general was accused of nationalism, and no political label was hung on anyone.

We did not engage in slander—this began during the 10th Plenum of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee in 1952—or self-praise and the slurring over of shortcomings, which was widespread during the Seventies. In evaluating successes in a fitting manner, we expressed critical comments, including those aimed at prominent writers, but for the sole purpose of helping them to grow. By the beginning of the blackening—after my release from the position of Central Committee secretary, I occupied the post of deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers for a year and I went for my doctorate in the summer of 1951.

In order to stop false rumors, I must say that my release was not connected with my work. It was a result of the fact that my older brother had been subjected to repression as an "enemy of the people" in 1937. I was practically without work. In 1950, a wave of "purges of the party apparatus of persons who were not crystal-clear pure" occurred. I was such a one. They did not allow me to give lectures on party history prior to the 20th CPSU Congress. The label of one "not crystal-clear pure" was removed from me only after my brother's rehabilitation and his restoration to party ranks (posthumously).

In April 1951 a year after my departure from the Central Committee staff to the Council of Ministers, the republic Communist Party Central Committee Buro examined the question "On the Condition of Musical Arts and Ways To Improve Them Further." It pointed out: "The Administration for Artistic Affairs (the Ministry of Culture did not exist at the time) has been following for many years the harmful practice of organizing and broadly publicizing operatic, ballet and musical dramatic spectacles on legendary and fantastical subjects ('Farkhad and Shirin,' 'Leyli and Medzhnun,' 'Takhir and Zuhra,' 'Alpamysh,' 'Gulandom,' and others) .... The Central Committee's department of propaganda and agitation (Vakhobov and others) has not placed itself at the head of the ideological and artistic development of musical arts in the republic."

The decision recommended a review of the repertoires of theaters and radio programs. At the time, I was still a member of the Central Committee Buro. I categorically opposed this proposal but I found myself isolated. Usma Yusupov was confirmed as USSR minister of cotton production and A. Abdurakhmanov left for training. I sent a letter about the erroneous nature of this decree to M. A. Suslov, a party Central Committee secretary. A copy of the letter is in the archives of the Party History Institute. Nevertheless, the above-mentioned works were removed from the repertoires, makom were ruled out, etc.

The Tenth Plenum of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee was held in February 1952. The report of A. N. Niyazov, the first secretary of the Central Committee who had replaced U. Yusupov, said: "The writer Aybek has allowed serious ideological distortions in his works and verses. His novel 'Navoi' idealizes the feudal past. In his preface to the 'Anthology of Uzbek Poetry' (the anthology that we had prepared—M. V.), Aybek does not examine individual literary phenomena of the past from a Marxist position."

Kh. T. Tursunov, the Central Committee secretary for propaganda who had replaced me, noted in his presentation: "The authors of the textbook and reader on the history of Uzbek literature have committed the grossest distortion of a panislamic nationalistic nature. It is known that the Central Committee had adopted a decision in 1948 and had organized a commission to alter the literature program and textbook, in which comrade

Vakhobov participated. However, the newly compiled textbook is no less fallacious. The authors of the textbook describe the anti-people epos 'Alpamysh' as an outstanding example of an heroic epic."

During the plenum, Aybek and many other writers and poets were declared to be nationalists, and a group of cultural figures were subjected to repression. Aybek became seriously ill and actually ceased to function. Many directors of cultural establishments were removed from work as not inspiring trust. Many remember this.

Now concerning Abdull Kakhkhar. I knew him well and respected him very much. Neither I, Usman Yusupov nor other Central Committee secretaries had ever accused him of nationalism. With regards to the novel "Ogni Koshchinar," it was not as some are now saying about him. We knew that A. Kakhkhar was working on a novel about kolkhoz life. We were waiting for the appearance of this novel with interest.

The first book of the novel appeared and on the initiative of the leadership of the Union of Writers the novel was submitted for a discussion. During the discussion, some of the participants were rude and tactless toward A. Kakhkhar, however, no one accused him of nationalism. In the Central Committee, no one had the intention of "beating" A. Kakhkhar unmercifully. The comments did not concern the ideological content and artistic level of the novel but the comparatively weak portrayal of the role of the kolkhoz party organization. We asked A. Kakhkhar to prepare a second edition and to portray the activity of the kolkhoz party organization more fully. We suggested that he go to one of the kolkhozes in the republic and study the work of the communists. He accepted the suggestion and returned from a kolkhoz with new works, in particular the drama "Shelkovoye syuzane." Later, he broadly portrayed the activity of a party organization in his drama "Ptichka-nevelichka." After much time, A. Kakhkhar recalled with kind words the night when it had been suggested to him in Usman Yusupov's office that he go to a kolkhoz. He expressed gratitude for the assistance in thoroughly studying kolkhoz life.

Other literary critics have accused me of displaying vulgar sociology with respect to individual cultural figures of the Twenties.

I can only say that I use an historical approach with a consideration for the specific situation in my evaluation of the work of individual representatives of Uzbek literature and culture. My purpose was to reveal the impact of their creative works on the process of developing the Uzbek people's socialist culture. From this viewpoint, I divide the cultural figures of this period into two groups: Khamza, S. Ayni, A. Avlyani, Kh. Alimdzhan, and many others who had a great impact during the Twenties on the process of developing a socialist culture in the republic; and Fitrat, Chulpan, Elbek, Gazi Yunus,

and others who had a negative impact. Vulgar sociology notwithstanding, the activity of the first and second group is substantiated by facts and documents in my work.

Proceeding from the Marxist principle of historical method, I wrote in my monograph "The Formation of the Uzbek Socialist Nation": "Even such writers as Chulpan, Gazi Yunus, Elbek, and others, who in the past had been active 'Chigatay Gurungi' figures, had begun to write works on modern themes in 1930-1931. A number of works by Chulpan on kolkhoz life appeared during these years. The fact they appeared testified that these writers were searching for ways to adapt to the new order." Such an approach to the creative work of Chulpan and others, it seems to me, is Marxist.

However, who had a right to deny their nationalistic activity and even at times the existence of nationalism in general? This is incorrect. They themselves admitted that they were nationalists. During the personality cult period, however, the fact that they were not on the path of serving socialism at the beginning of the thirties was totally not taken into consideration.

I finished work on the book in 1955. During the discussion of its first version in the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences History Institute, where I was then working, a sharp criticism of my theses resounded from individual comrades (they are already gone and I will not mention their names). They accused me of whitewashing nationalists and denying the legality of their repression. These comments were expressed even after the book was published. I thought and do think that they were subjected to repression for their activity during the twenties since they were working honestly and conscientiously during the thirties.

I do not share the opinion of those who totally deny the existence of nationalism during that period based on their rehabilitation. Their rehabilitation cannot change the situation during the twenties. Their shift to a Soviet position during the thirties cannot serve as justification for denying nationalism during the twenties.

In my article "Notwithstanding the Truth of History," I said that a distinctive type of "master," such as "princling" and "kinglet" in the republic, had appeared in the Academy of Sciences. This aroused the indignation of several of the then academy directors. A destructive article appeared with unprecedented operativeness in the January 1987 edition of the journal OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI V UZBEKISTANE. I answered it in issue No 7 of that same journal. The journal GULISTAN published an article in its January issue with the same approach. It mentioned that the shortcomings of the past were "minor details" and that they are distracting us from the task of reconstruction and that is why it is not worthwhile to spend time on them; it is necessary to work on more important problems.

My article concerned the idealization of Timur and its harmful consequences. His idealization began within the walls of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences. I thought and do think that the idealization of Timur is not a "minor detail", it had and now has widespread dissemination and is inflicting great damage on the communist indoctrination of the masses. Despite statements that instances of the idealization of the personality of Timur have supposedly not been observed for the last 15 years in our scientific literature (OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI V UZBEKISTANE, No. 11, 1987), the articles "Timur," "The Timurite State," "The Code of Timur," and many other articles devoted to the activity of other khans in the 11th volume of the "Uzbek Soviet Encyclopedia," contain a noticeable imprint of idealization of Timur and his descendants.

On 5 March of this year, the newspaper YESH LENINCHI published an article entitled "Pride" in which Timur is considered one of the items of which the Uzbek people should be proud. The author even criticizes the editors of the "Uzbek Soviet Encyclopedia" for its poor portrayal of Timur's role. It has come down to Antikh Dmitriyevich Kantemir, a Russian language poet and a Moldavian by nationality, being categorically proclaimed a descendant of Timur—by birth from the Barlas family just as Timur himself—on the pages of the newspaper UZBEKISTON ADABIYATI VA SANATI (No. 47, 1987). It would be possible to cite many other instances of the tenacity and deep roots of such a "small detail" as the idealization of Timur; however, it is sufficient to say that some directors and scientists in the Academy of Sciences either do not know about these cases or are misleading the public.

Concerning the version that I want to settle personal scores with deceased academy directors, it has no grounds to it since I spoke openly about the idealization of Timur and its harm during their lives. After the appearance of a brochure on Timur in March 1989, I publicly called it anti-Marxist and harmful. At the time many raised a large uproar within the academy walls. However, no one dared to publish in the press. As now they literally launched a mass attack after my article. At the time, I was the director of the Party History Institute and this was evidently considered dangerous. Literally after a few months, they sent me to the Tashkent Higher Party School as director, i.e., they tried to divert me from scientific theoretical work. They began to restrict my appearances in the press and at seminars and theoretical conferences for I constantly criticized dzhadidism and nationalistic distortions in the republic—and now the

subject of the idealization of Timur had been added. Virtually after a 15-year break I appeared for the first time with the article "Notwithstanding the Truth of History" in PRAVDA VOSTOKA thanks to which the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee denounced the idealization of Timur for the first time within the republic.

In September 1975 after I posed to Rashidov a question about the need to take steps against the strengthening of the harmful consequences of Timur's idealization, they suggested that I retire in a month. The proposal was a legal one, at the time, I was 66 years old although I was completely capable of working.

After this, certain people spread rumors that I had been pensioned because the Tashkent Higher Party School collective was dissatisfied with me. This clearly labeled not only me but also the party school collective. Being the director of the party school, I had been elected four times to the staff of the party committee and each time no more than five of the 490 communist voted against me.

I and R. Nabiyev, a corresponding member of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences, M. Abduraimov, doctor of historical sciences, and A. Khamrayev, an assistant professor at the Tashkent State University, did not fight against Timur's idealization for the sake of any gain. The motivating factor of our struggle was the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory and the unmasking of the idealization of the personality of Timur which had inflicted a great deal of damage on the international indoctrination of the people, especially youth, and the ideological training of cadres. This idealization is now poisoning the consciousness of youth.

This requires that the republic's social scientists not confine themselves to passing off critical comments about the idealization of the personality of Timur as a "small detail." It requires a thorough investigation of the causes of its repeated strengthening during the seventies. It is necessary to evaluate its harmful consequences in a party way and to suggest ways to overcome them.

It is necessary to speak the truth and only the truth. That is why I am doing this. Here is my answer to those opponents who have had a full opportunity to express their opinion. It is necessary to assume, however, that everyone, including myself, has been granted this right.

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**Patriarch Pimen Discusses Church/State Relations, Peace Initiatives**

[SU001469 Moscow PROBLEMY MIRAI  
SOTSIALIZMA in Russian No 6, Jun 88 pp 78-81]

[Interview with Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, under the "Millennium of the Introduction of Christianity to Rus" rubric: "The Church, Freedom of Conscience, and Peacemaking"]

[Excerpts] [Question] How do you appraise the significance of the introduction of Christianity to Rus for Russian and European culture and for history?

[Answer] The establishment of Christianity in Rus occurred during the period of the development of the Russian state system, with which the Russian Orthodox Church became closely connected. Christianity was the ideological foundation, if you will, of the unified state system. It promoted the gradual disappearance of the old division according to tribe, and the appearance of a single Old Russian nationality, from which the Russians, Ukrainians and Belorussians later emerged.

The Russian Orthodox Church exerted a powerful influence on the development of a national identity. Our forefathers placed their entire lives, both private and public, under the protection of their Christian faith. Even the struggle for the liberation of the Fatherland bore a religious character. From the 13th to the 15th centuries, when the Tatar-Mongolian yoke hung over Rus, threatening total loss of its national originality, the Orthodox Church remained in essence the sole power which preserved the uniqueness of the nation both in terms of ethnic composition, and as a spiritual-moral entity.

Thus it was in other tense moments in the history of Russia, accompanied by invasions from abroad. In these trials the nation sensed that it was united not only by ties of blood, but also by ties of the spirit, and the patriotism which sprang from the depths of the people's souls was brilliantly colored by the Orthodox Church.

The baptism of Rus brought about the swift flourishing of Old Russian culture. Churches, distinguished by their splendid architecture, were built in great numbers, they were painted with great mastery and were decorated with frescoes, mosaics and icons. The choral arts, and miniature books were developed; such examples could go on.

The clergy did not limit itself to guardianship of souls, but also contributed widely to the spread of literacy and knowledge. The monasteries made it possible to engage in scholarly activities. Inventories of monastery libraries indicate that a large part of the books were of a secular nature: chronicles, "pilgrimages," philosophical and military treatises, and works of classical antiquity.

The Church brought up its flock on the basis of Christian faith and morality. Characteristic features of Orthodox people were and still are: piety and devotion to prayer and church organization, and to matters of decency, charity and good works. The Church revealed the concept of sin, showed the way to spiritual perfection, and inculcated love for one's neighbor. The overall civic order, including law, was also organized on Christian principles.

After its baptism, Rus entered the family of Christian nations, and acquired great international prestige. Throughout the entire millennium, mutual influence and mutual enrichment of cultures occurred, and developed on a common Christian foundation.

I would especially like to take note of three international scholarly church conferences conducted by our Church, which have made a significant contribution to the study of the 1,000-year history of Christianity in Rus. The first took place in July 1986 in Kiev, and was dedicated to the event of the Baptism itself and to the initial period of the history of the Russian Orthodox Church. The second was held in May 1987 in Moscow on the theme of "The Theology and the Spirituality of the Russian Orthodox Church." The third conference was held recently, its theme was "The Liturgical Life and Church Art of the Russian Orthodox Church."

A considerable portion of the reports at these gatherings was dedicated to the missionary activity of the Russian Orthodox Church, and to the spiritual and cultural interaction of Rus with other Christian nations. There was a wealth of material, and it is now being prepared for publication as separate books.

I received with great satisfaction the report that the UNESCO General Conference has declared the Millennium of the Baptism of Rus a major event in European and world history, and culture, and called upon the scientific and cultural societies of the UNESCO member states to mark this momentous occasion.

We look upon this as an authoritative proclamation of the genuine, valuable contribution of our Church to the development of European and world culture, which is our common property. We are deeply convinced that the celebration of the Millennium of the Baptism of Rus will be a factor which will promote the spiritual convergence and mutual understanding of the nations, and the establishment and strengthening of openness and love for peace in their relations, in the spirit of the New Testament ideals of peace and love.

[Question] Would you please describe the interaction of the Orthodox Church with the socialist state, and the specific areas and forms in which cooperation takes place; whether in the sphere of the country's domestic life or in international affairs?

And what can you say about the assertions about persecution of the churches in the USSR and violations of the rights of believers?

[Answer] I would describe the interaction of the Church and the state at present as completely normal. This year will mark the 70th anniversary of the decree, "On the Separation of the Church from the State and the Schools from the Church." We consider this the natural condition, for the Church and the state are different by their natures. We possess all the conditions for freely realizing our mission in accordance with Church traditions.

At the same time the state is doing everything necessary to ensure the vitality of the church, and does its share to satisfy its daily needs: for example, the state allocates funds for construction and restoration of churches, it offers accommodations and materials for the manufacture of Church utensils, paper and printing facilities for publishing, and so on.

In response to our request, in 1983 the Soviet Government transferred to us the ancient Svvyato-Danilov Monastery in Moscow, on whose territory a monastery and the spiritual-administrative center of the Russian Orthodox Church have been established. Recently two more cloisters have been transferred: the Vvedenskaya Optina Pustyn in Kaluga Eparchy—one of the most famous centers of the spiritual life of Russia—and the Tolgskiy women's monastery in Yaroslavl Eparchy, where elderly priests and clergymen who need care and nursing will dwell.

These and many other facts about our objective reality convincingly testify to the lack of objectivity of the assertions of persecution of the church in the Soviet Union. Instances of violation of the rights of believers are encountered, but as a rule these are the result of violation of the law by individual people or local organs of authority. But violations of the law on the part of religious organizations occur too. The central press sheds light on cases of conflict, and they are given the proper evaluation.

Questions of observance of religious legislation concerns the Council on Religious Affairs at the USSR Council of Ministers, it is this body that maintains contact between the church and the state. Normal businesslike relations have taken shape among us. We always encounter mutual understanding and support on the part of the Council on Religious Affairs.

As far as cooperation among believers and atheists is concerned, I would first of all point out that under conditions of separation of church and state, believers have all the rights of the citizens of our state and take part in the various aspects of the life of their Motherland on an equal basis.

This cooperation is many-faceted. Believers, parishes, eparchies, the Higher Church Administration and the Church as a whole always actively respond to the problems facing society, they are not indifferent to the solution of urgent problems, and they take part in their country's affairs every day—both morally, by material sacrifices, and by their labor.

The Russian Orthodox Church is an active participant in many social organizations, such as, for example, the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, the Soviet Peace Fund, the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, The Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries, The Culture Fund, the Soviet Children's Fund, and other organizations whose members include many hierarchs, clergymen and laymen, who are making a significant contribution to their activities.

[Question] Our readers are interested in the attitude of the Orthodox Church toward the socialist way of life and a materialistic world view.

What do you think about the restructuring of Soviet society? Can religion help bring about a new moral-psychological climate, and inculcate the highest moral qualities in man? Is there dialog among representatives of religious and atheist world-views?

[Answer] First of all I would stress that the principle of freedom of conscience is fixed in law in the USSR Constitution. We do not foist our views on anyone, and our churches are open for everyone who visits them, on his own volition. At the same time we are prepared to carry on a dialog on philosophical questions. The main thing is that such a dialog should not divide, but help people better understand one another.

As far as the Church's attitude toward the socialist way of life is concerned, we take the position that the goal of socialism is to serve the good of every individual person. Service to man is our mission as well. In some ways we understand this service differently, and in others our missions coincide, therefore, in many specific spheres of life cooperation is possible. The role and position of such mutual efforts are especially prominent today, when a renaissance of all aspects of the life of society is taking place.

In recent years, it is as if the country has found its second wind, based on the processes of glasnost and democratization. We are experiencing creative and purposeful activity in the economy and in politics, in morality, science and culture. There are increasing demands for purity in the moral atmosphere of society, and spiritual life is becoming more varied and deeper.

The Church extends its blessings to the peaceful, creative work of the Soviet people, and its pastoral work is to a large extent dedicated to raising the civic activeness and responsibility of the children of the Russian Orthodox

Church a conscientious attitude toward labor, and undeviating observance of high ethical norms in their private and public lives. On this plane the Church is undoubtedly making its contribution to the establishment of a healthy moral-psychological climate in Soviet society—precisely because, as religious people, we place special emphasis on the great significance attributed to morality in the new system of orientation, and on the fact that central to the renewal of the value system is the fact that man is affirmed as a socially-active person, who is open to the perception and creation of great spiritual values.

Along with our non-religious fellow citizens we are filled with profound concern about the shape of the society to come. We deem it our Christian duty to serve the true good of our fellow citizens and all people, and to help everyone to carry out his high destiny; "therefore, let us make every effort to do what leads to peace and to mutual edification" (Romans 14:19).

In meditating on this mission, we note that its spiritual essence is unchangeable, but the forms of its realization are determined by the circumstances of the times, and by the peculiar features of the religious needs of our flock. Thus, it is with great satisfaction, for example, that we observe the process of perestroika rendering a positive influence on the development of the life of the Church as well, and that it is creating a more favorable atmosphere in which to carry out its mission. Under the new conditions, many questions and problems which concern the life of our parishes and eparchies have found resolution to the satisfaction of all interested parties.

The changes taking place in the country have expanded the bounds of cooperation among believers and non-religious citizens. Today the Russian Orthodox Church supports these fruitful contacts with a wide group of figures in the fields of culture and science, and enjoys the use of the mass information media. It has become routine for the hierarchs of our Church as well as the followers of other churches and religious associations in our country, to take part in various press conferences and public gatherings, which makes it possible for those who are interested to hear first-hand exhaustive answers to a number of questions, on which it was not acceptable to speak publicly in the recent past.

**[Question] What sort of interaction does the Orthodox Church have with the followers of other religions in the Soviet Union and throughout the world?**

**[Answer]** Throughout the 1,000-year history of its existence the Russian Orthodox Church has had contacts of one sort or another with other religions, both within our country and abroad. Today too we cooperate closely with their followers in working for the good of our Fatherland and in strengthening peace among the nations.

In 1952, during a period of dramatic tensions in the international situation, the first Conference of All Churches and Religious Associations in the USSR was

held in the Troitse-Sergiyeva Lavra in Zagorsk. The purpose of the conference was to consolidate their efforts on strengthening peace throughout the world. Even then it was possible to come to the conclusion that in spite of the doctrinal disputes, the proximity of their religious and moral positions permitted bringing the believers together for fruitful cooperation in making peace. Since that time such meetings have become a tradition. And today no one can deny that the followers of the various religions are united in their service to those both near and far, and in their overall civic and humanitarian aspirations for forestalling the danger of war.

Our interfaith cooperation with churches and religious associations in the USSR is constantly expanding and is becoming stronger. We have combined our peace-making efforts with the multitudes of our brethren as well—the followers of other religions abroad. And as a result of extensive and open discussions, we are buoyed with optimism and hope and have come to the unanimous conclusion, that efforts for cooperation in the service of the good of mankind and in solving its urgent problems can be observed in all religions. The basis for this communality, in our view, is the recognition by the various religions of the ideas of brotherhood, justice and peace as the highest principles of human relations. Believers also have an inherent tendency toward grasping the objective reality of human existence, the comprehension of which cannot be separated from putting these ideals into practice.

**[Question] Please describe the point of view of the Russian Orthodox Church toward contemporary problems of defending the peace. What is the Orthodox Church undertaking? What is your view of the future of civilization?**

**[Answer]** Our opinion on contemporary moral problems of war and peace was fully expressed in the epistle of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church of 7 February 1986, "On War and Peace in the Atomic Age." I will not comment on this document in detail at this time. I would only point out that today we recognize with special clarity that the idea of peace can no longer be an abstract ideal: it must take on the same degree of reality that is inherent in life itself; for the time has already come when life itself cannot go on without peace. In the same manner, the time has come when the very idea of war must be completely excluded from international relations. The global threat to life demands global solutions of mankind. Right now it is more appropriate than ever before to remove the ruinous mistrust and fruitless competition, in favor of coordinating all our efforts and all our resources in order to establish more favorable conditions for the material as well as the spiritual perfection of mankind.

In such circumstances, we the believers, following our religious principles, are called upon to double and redouble our efforts to forestall the danger of a common nuclear holocaust. Evil demonstrates its power in the dehumanization of human relations, and in the scoring

of the moral-ethical values of civilization. But evil meets and will continue to meet with decisive opposition on our part; because for us, as Christians, peace is one of the highest blessings.

In the language of the church, the word "peace" expresses the desire for all sorts of blessings and for good in the aggregate. The Bible also expresses this concept in just relationships among people, in their cooperation, and in their right to enjoy the blessings of nature and the results of their own labor. We totally reject hostility, exploitation and murder as violations of "divine law;" whereas we recognize peace-making as its fulfillment. In other words, the peace-making services of our Church are seen as a form of our reason for being, as the basis of our outward manifestation, and one of the necessary conditions for fulfilling Christ's bidding: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called Sons of God" (Matthew 5:9).

In adhering to this precept, our Church in its everyday activities applies every effort to create a moral atmosphere which would preclude an encroachment on the life and the dignity of man. Through its preaching and urgent appeals from the depths of its soul, and its profound concerns for peace, the Russian Orthodox Church constantly prays for the blessings of peace for the entire world, and inculcates in all believers the ideals of peace. In this, our peace-making activity, our Church is as one with all the Soviet people, and with all people of good will.

At the present time the Church is engaged in a wide variety of peace-making activities. Outwardly, our service to God and our preaching appear to be very simple, but they are deeply effective and they never slacken. In the rules of our Church, all divine services without exception include prayers "for the peace of the whole world." In essence there is not a single sermon or arch-pastoral epistle in which Christians are not called in one way or another, directly or indirectly, to seek peace at home, peace with one's neighbor, and peace in the collective, in society and between the nations and peoples. This worship and preaching activity, even if the word "peace" itself is sometimes not directly spoken, creates among the believers what is most powerful and most important for the cause of peace—an atmosphere of actively striving for peace, and for preserving and strengthening it.

Cooperation with Orthodox and other Christian churches and religious associations, and participation in the ecumenical movement, which is also manifested in our efforts to strengthen peace, occupy a significant place in the peace-making activity of the Russian Orthodox Church. Representatives of our Church are making a significant contribution in carrying out the peace-making programs of the World Council of Churches, the Christian Peace Conference, the Conference of European Churches, and other ecumenical organizations to which the Russian Orthodox Church belongs.

The worldwide conference of "Religious Activists for Protecting the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe," which was held in Moscow in 1982, is one of the most significant of recent events in the history of the peace-making activity of our church.

This conference, at which religious representatives from almost 90 countries gathered together—Christians, Muslims, Hindus, Jews, Buddhists, Shintos and Sikhs—adopted a number of documents which stressed the necessity of cooperation of all religions and all people of good will to establish peace on earth. Through the organizations at the conference, the Russian Church gave new impetus to religious peace-making activities on all the world's continents.

In developing the ideals of the conference, it has become the practice to hold annual "round table" discussions in Moscow, including theologians and prominent Soviet scholars, and public figures from our country and from abroad. Five such meetings have been held as of the present time.

A special page in the contemporary life of the Russian Orthodox Church is filled with its many bilateral contacts with various Christian churches and organizations. And it is important to note that at all meetings and talks with representatives of these churches and organizations, the theme of peace-making in all of its widest aspects is always an important element of the dialog.

In conclusion I would like to place special emphasis on the fact that we are deeply convinced of the final triumph of the ideals of goodness and peace over the forces of evil and destruction. The religious views which lie at the basis of this conviction encourage us to raise our voices in protest against nuclear war, which can bring humanity to self-extinction; thus, we call upon all people of good will to brand war and the arms race as a crime against God and mankind.

I have cited only a few of the facts, initiatives and trends—albeit perhaps the most important ones—in the activities of the Russian Orthodox Church whose goal is the preservation and strengthening of peace in our unstable and continually fluctuating human society. We clearly acknowledge that people of good will still have a long and hard journey to complete. Much remains to be done to create the sort of world in which there will be no international conflicts; in which the nations will construct their relations with one another exclusively on the principles of faith, friendship and fraternity.

**Doctor Enlists Church Assistance in Attending Patients**

18000462a Moscow TRUD in Russian 7 Jun 88 p 4

[Interview with Anatoliy Nikolayevich Solovyev, head physician of the 6th Municipal Clinical Hospital, by L. Vasilev, date and place not specified: "Kindness and Mercy for Those Who Suffer"; first two paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] The celebration of the millenium of Christianity in Russia continues. Yesterday the solemn opening of the full synod of the Russian Orthodox Church was held at the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergiy; its work will last for three days.

On the eve of the celebration another event took place which at first glance is not so remarkable: the head physician of the 6th Municipal Clinical Hospital, met with the senior priest of the Bogoyavlenskiy Patriarchal Cathedral, the elder Matvey Savvich Stadnuk. The conversation concerned cooperation in providing aid to the sick. This is because the Yelokhovskaya church is located not far from the medical facility. I ask Solovyev:

[Question] Anatoliy Nikolayevich, how did you decide to ask the church for help? After all, that is a pretty unusual thing to do in our times.

[Answer] I am by no means the first person to whom this idea has occurred. In the Ukraine one of the hospitals asked a convent to make visits, and the members responded favorably. I did this because, alas, with our own resources we cannot do everything. The hospital is designed to serve 1,000 patients; according to the staff list there are supposed to be 304 junior staff, but we have only 127. Moreover, among our patients, especially the older ones, there are quite a few believers...

[Question] But it is not only the strong and adroit who may come to you, certainly those who respond will include middle-aged people on whom you will not impose many duties...

[Answer] We will accept everyone. For us everything is important: a glass of water brought in time, reading to patients, simply talking with them, calming them with a kind word. And if even four or five people come I will consider that a start has been made! After all, it is not just that the hospital lacks hands, we do not have enough tolerance, mercy and even simple attention to give the patients.

Our hospital is old: judging by the architectural data, this was the estate of the well-known industrialist Demidov; then it belonged to the Trubetskoys, the Golitsyns and the Kurakins. Following the 1812 fire, when the building ceased to be of value to "their excellencies," it was handed over to the city. Originally they put the Nikolaevskiy Orphanage here and later they created a division of the Old St. Catherine's Hospital. And in 1876, on October 30th, a separate hospital was opened for unskilled workers with 400 beds costing 6 rubles 60

kopecks a month. Professor Dunayevskiy, who collected the materials and wrote the history of our hospital notes that the conditions were not so good: "six physicians, six middle level personnel; there are 14 people for one nurse and at night 28." Until 1922 the Church of the Assumption of St. Anna was located on the premises of the hospital; I thought that if at one time the fraternal society of St. Anna helped the suffering, then good people capable of mercy will be found now as well.

[Question] Father Nikolay has already been to your hospital, and he has even given one of the patients communion at her request. And how have other patients reacted to your initiative?

[Answer] You know, so far only positively. Some are surprised, some are interested, some are touched literally to tears by the attention. We had only one incident in which a relative walked out angrily when she saw a priest. It is possible that she had her own reasons for doing so.

[Question] And how did the leaders of the rayon react to this undertaking?

[Answer] Just this morning an instructor from the Baumanskiy Rayon Committee of the CPSU was here, and I was interested to learn his opinion. He is pleased that this undertaking has been made. I have found support within both the CPSU raykom and ispolkom. Even enterprise managers have called to say that this is a necessary endeavor.

It is getting on for 4:00 pm. It is time for the head doctor to begin seeing patients. The people who have come to see him need help and a kind word too...

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**New Orthodox Church To Be Built to Commemorate Millenium**

18000462b Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jun 88 p 5

[Article by G. Charodeyev: "Building a Church in Tsaritsyn"]

[Text] The picturesque environs of the Lower Tsaritsyn Ponds were selected as the site for a new Russian Orthodox church. It will be built to commemorate the millenium of Christianity in Russia as well as "in memory of all our fellow countrymen who gave their lives during the defense of the Motherland and in the patriotic wars."

On 12 June a ceremony was held at which the cornerstone was laid; it was attended by the hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox church, by representatives of the Orthodox churches, by numerous Soviet and foreign guests, as well as by representatives of the municipal and rayon authorities. A solemn service devoted to the founding of the church was held. "We rejoice", said Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, in his remarks "that at the present time, thanks to the positive results of the process

of perestroika and renewal, relations between the church and state are changing for the better. There are many examples of this. And one of them is the forthcoming construction of the church. I say this with great conviction for I see the inspiration which believing Muscovites are deriving from this event."

None of the journalists anticipated that the Nobel Peace Prize winner from South Africa, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, would arrive in Moscow. After asking to speak, he conveyed greetings from the fighting people of the South African Republic. "We know," he said, "that our struggle for justice will triumph because such remarkable people as you give us strength. Your history is a history of sanctity, steadfastness and bravery. We observe with joy the improvement in relations between the church and state. We ask the blessing of God for all of God's children in the Soviet Union. And we also pray that all of the efforts of the Soviet leadership aimed at the establishment of peace on Earth shall be blessed."

8543

#### **Academicians Call For Law Regulating Church/State Relations**

18000462c Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jun 88 p 4

[Article by S. Averintsev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; A. Adamovich, writer and corresponding member of the BSSR Academy of Sciences; T. Zaslavskaya, academician; B. Raushenbakh, academician: "Move Away from Dogma"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] An article by A. Okulov, doctor of philosophical sciences, entitled "Landmark of Spiritual Freedom" (PRAVDA, 2 February), prompted us to write this letter. However, the reason for our letter is deeper and more serious: it is the need to rethink mutual relations between the state and various religions in the light of the new era of revolutionary transformations, truth and glasnost, a time for washing away chimeras.

The essence of the article amounts to the following: there are believers, who are wrapped "in a deep fog of superstitions, in a dark land filled with evil spirits and apparitions" (quotation from Anatole France, cited by the author as evidence for his idea) and there are atheists, we who are coming closer to a "scientific worldview" or to the heights of spiritual freedom. The author explains the religious faith of some Soviet people as prejudice, "as limited human experience, as a lack of development," and by various kinds of social deformities, which have contributed noticeably to the maintenance of religious faith in the country.

In this letter there is neither time nor space to argue about the phenomenon of the religious consciousness of mankind. The legal aspect of the problem was clearly stated in the Leninist decree "Concerning the Separation of Church from State and School from Church": "every person may profess any religion or may profess none." And in our view once this was the fundamental legisla-

tive document on this question, no coarsely judgmental pressures on the consciousness of citizens in any direction at all were permissible.

In the light of Comrade Okulov's ideas it turns out that a multitude of our great fellow countrymen, including F. Dostoyevskiy, V. Vernadskiy, and others, as well as Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King or—among those alive now—Graham Greene are or were, to put it mildly, backward or browbeaten.

It seems to us that it is not in the spirit of the period which we are now experiencing to separate the "pure" from the "impure" according to the principle of believer/unbeliever what is in the spirit of the time is the desire to understand what kind of situation has objectively developed in the country today: the number of believers, their affiliation with any particular religion, the state of a sectarian movement like the "Krishna children," etc. Finally, it is essential to understand the church in our country as a major and complex social phenomenon. Otherwise, it turns out that the objectively existing religious consciousness of many millions of our fellow citizens does not fit into the Procrustean bed of the usual dogmas; that is, it is as if that consciousness did not exist. The figures on the numbers of believers reported by the oblast and republic representatives to the Council of Religious Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers obviously do not correspond to reality. This is clear even from parish incomes which are deposited in bank accounts. It is worth paying attention to the fact that parishes of the the Russian Orthodox Church located within the USSR contribute more than 35 million rubles every year to the Peace Fund.

Even now the USSR has virtually no law which regulates the relations between the state and the various religions. The functions of such a law are fulfilled by a collection of materials and documents entitled "Legislation Concerning Religious Sects," which was published in 1971 for official use and intended only for those employees of ispolkoms authorized to handle religious affairs, judicial-procuratorial employees and employees of other organizations who come into contact with religious sects; it was by no means intended for the clergy or people who serve the church. The materials and documents of the collection are obsolete; they do not at all reflect the features of the present era. Moreover, its basic document "Concerning Religious Associations" was adopted in April 1929, that is, during a period of major social deformations.

From our viewpoint a special law regulating the relations of church and state is essential. A draft of it must be worked out with participation by representatives from both sides; it must be discussed by all the people, as is now the custom in our country.

As for the numerous organs which are now engaged in atheistic propaganda, it would probably be wise to direct them first of all toward the study of the real state of the religious consciousness of USSR citizens in order to replace illusory notions with reliable, scientifically-based ideas on this subject.

8543

### Prominent Literary Figures Continue Debate Over 'Doctor Zhivago'

18000433a Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jun 88 p 4

[Article by Andrey Voznesenskiy, chairman of the USSR Writers Union Commission on the Literary Heritage of B. Pasternak, and by V. Gusev: "Around 'Doctor Zhivago': At the Crossroads of Opinions"]

[Text] The editorial office continues to receive responses to B. Pasternak's novel "Doctor Zhivago" and D. Urnov's article about it, entitled "Senseless Surpassing of One's Powers," which was published on 27 April in PRAVDA.

As one might expect, D. Urnov's polemical article has caused a varied reaction. When speaking of the novel, some readers support unreservedly the author's position, and others express decisive disagreement with it. One can judge the fever pitch of the emotions by two such responses. "Thanks to the newspaper for its objectivity and to D. Urnov for his boldness," designer G. Korobkov writes from Zelenograd. "Nowadays it is not completely safe to express a somewhat unexpected opinion!" Isn't the reader exaggerating? What does he have in mind? This becomes clear from the response from Leningrader O. Kotsyuba, who asks, "How can people compare D. Urnov's article with perestroika"? And then he himself answers, "D. Urnov is its most real opponent." That's it. No more, no less...

The atmosphere of today's arguments around B. Pasternak's works is also characterized by the following situation. Thirty years ago the letters to the editor about "Doctor Zhivago" contained letters in which the authors stated, "I have not read the novel, but I do not accept it." Similar responses continue to arrive today. But now the letters state, "I have not yet read 'Doctor Zhivago,' but D. Urnov's article is a bad one." True, the author of this letter—Ye. Samchenko of Solnechnogorsk—stipulates that he knows other prose works of Pasternak's. V. Sariksyan of Tbilisi also has not read the novel, but categorically rejects criticism of it.

However, many readers strive not only to express their emotions, but also to analyze the work, and to substantiate their own point of view. Economist L. Goricheva of Moscow feels that "In his novel, Pasternak displayed bravery that is envious for us people today, because mass awareness was not yet ready to perceive the work, by virtue of its depressed nature and its lack of knowledge." Serviceman A. Koltsov of Shchelkovo writes that the most important thing in the novel is "the author's pain for man and mankind," his striving to interpret "the problem of the Russian intelligentsia, which, from an early age, had become accustomed to the idea of the independent value of every thinking person, an intelligentsia which recoiled from the distortions and perversions of an idea, rather than from the idea itself..." Retired teacher R. Mironyuk of Dobrinka, Volgograd Oblast, feels that Pasternak

revealed in a new way "the theme of revolution and civil war," and that the most important thing in the work is his sympathy for the hero, who proved to be between two camps—his fate "induces him to meditate." The style of the novel is also interesting to the reader. Two readers who do not agree with it are teacher I. Poskanny, from the village of Velikaya Topal, Bryansk Oblast, and Muscovite I. Sveshnikova, who writes, "I really love Pasternak the poet, but expressions such as 'ranted and raved,' 'devoured with his eyes,' etc., have to be called banal." I. Sveshnikova devotes the bulk of her letter to a dispute with the critics who compare Lara, the heroine of the book, with Pushkin's Tatyana Larina, seeing in her the personification of Russia: in I. Sveshnikova's opinion, Lara is too vulnerable from the moral point of view...

And so the controversy about "Doctor Zhivago" continues.

Today we grant the floor to poet Andrey Voznesenskiy, and to critic and prose-writer Vladimir Gusev. Their articles throw light upon new facets of the novel and analyze the situation that has developed around works that we have recently received. We hope that these materials will help the reader to refine his opinion both concerning B. Pasternak's "Doctor Zhivago" and concerning the problems that have been touched upon in the course of the discussion.

#### Candle and Blizzard, Andrey Voznesenskiy

"Doctor Zhivago" is a special kind of novel. It is a poetic novel. The tremendous body of prose, like an overgrown lilac bush, bears upon itself double-dyed clusters of poems that crown it. And just as the goal of a bush is to have clusters and the meaning of the apple tree is to have apples, the goal of the novel is to have the verses that grow out of it at the finale. We see how, in the process of the life and the spiritual confusion of the author and the hero of the novel, the candle flame first glimmers, a flame that is seen through a frosty window, and in that illumination there appears "Blok is the phenomenon of Christmas" in Russian life, then the nighttime perceptible candle becomes the symbol of his love for Lara, the blizzard becomes the symbol of history, blows out that single candle stub, kills individuality, spirituality, the intellectual—and, finally, at the end of the novel, one sees the flourishing of a miracle of classic poetry: "The candle was burning on the table," without the light of which one can no longer imagine our spiritual culture. Thus, there grows out of the hero's fate the light of "The Christmas Star," Hamlet's sigh: "I am alone, everything is sinking in pharisaism. Living life is not crossing a field."

Pasternak's prose is by no means an article "How to Write Poetry." No, it is a novel, it is the life of a poet, a novel about how people live by poetry and how poems are born out of life. Previously there had not been any such novels.

The works of the classic authors live in time, with their mores. Their meaning is like a flower that alternately reveals itself to the readers and then, at different times, is hidden from him. That is how it was with Turgenev's novels, with Musset, with Joyce.

Alas, "Doctor Zhivago" is now not simply a book. The novel has coalesced with the shameful events around it. For 30 years our propaganda, without reading it, without pondering the lyrical music of its magical Russian language, characterized the novel as a political monster, as a lampoon of our nation and revolution. But now the novel has been printed. It was printed as one of today's burning social masterpieces. I think that, among the million readers who subscribed to NOVYY MIR because of the publication of the novel, there may be some who are perplexed: what a disparity between the 30 years of monstrous lies concerning the novel and its lyrical pages! What kind of author-baiting was this? Why was the author expelled from the Writers Union, and why were people planning to exile him from the country?

Because of the pages describing the love between Yura and Lara? Because of the magical descriptions of the warbling of nightingales, which certainly can be compared with Turgenev's?

Alas, in addition to the crime against the poet's individuality, a crime was carried out for many years against the meaning of the novel. As a result of the invective, it is impossible today to read the novel objectively. The reader today searches in vain in the book for the promised "sedition," the eardrums that are expecting a cannonade cannot perceive the music of Brahms. It is as though a hockey game or news program was announced on television, but the people are forced to "listen to a symphony."

Alas, the blame for this disinformation lies with the literary intriguers who were in charge at that time. They were the ones who provoked Khrushchev, who was far away from literature, to sanction the persecution of the author. Here is the official evaluation of the poet: "...the pig will not do what he has done... He has befouled the place where he eats."

Here are a few quotations from that shameful witches' hunt of a conference of authors on 27 October 1958, which expelled the poet and demanded of the government that he be exiled from the country. "In essence, Pasternak is a literary Vlasov. A Soviet court sentenced General Vlasov to death by firing squad! (Shouts from the floor: 'He was hanged!') Get out of our country, Mister Pasternak. We don't want to breathe the same air that you do!"

A venerable critic stated: "Let him go there! It is even difficult for me and our comrades to imagine that such people live in our writers' settlement. I cannot imagine being left with having to be a neighbor of Pasternak's. He ought not to be included in the USSR population census."

Those statements were about Pasternak, the best poet of that time, the breathing of the air of whose poetry was the rarest happiness, like breathing the crystal-clear air of Lake Baykal or the Aral Sea, the miracle of which has also been so stupidly destroyed.

And it is completely logical that the very same critic, conducting artillery softening-up operations for that meeting, wrote on 9 September 1958 in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA that "Pasternak's derivative religious poetry reeks of naphthalene from the symbolic trunk of the 1908-1910 model."

On 1 November LITERATURNAYA GAZETA wrote: "The Bukharinist panegyric addressed to him is not accidental..." "Isn't 'Doctor Zhivago' the spiritual son of Klim Samgin? Gorkiy unmasked Samgin. Pasternak, in Zhivago, unmasked himself." The hero is the author. Consequently, the poet must be exiled!

Why is it that today critic D. Urnov, who knows all these slanders, had the need consciously to rewrite them? Both concerning "Klim Samgin," and concerning the fact that the poetry from the novel repeats the "divergent poetry of that time"? He cites as an example "White Night," one of the pearls of Russian lyric poetry.

The streetlights are like gas butterflies. The morning has started with its first trembling. That which I am telling you quietly is like the sleeping distances. We are encompassed by the very same timid faithfulness to the secret, like the Petersburg that spreads out in a panoramabeyond the boundless Neva.

Let us hope to God that this one poem alone can make Russian literature happy! All things considered, the critic is devoid of the happiness of understanding that music, the music of conscience, which constitutes the content of the novel. Are we really to believe that the critic, in such a large novel, did not see even a single worthy line?

"For a person's mind, as well as his talent, actually much is forgiven," the critic writes condescendingly, and reflects concerning the author of the poetry in the novel: "Is he wise or unwise? Talented or untalented?" But the gauge of talent is not the administrative positions that the author has filled, and it is not having a named entry in the BSE [Large Soviet Encyclopedia]. Alas, the sole measure of talent is the poetry. And the poetry in the novel is great poetry in the classic Russian tradition—"Fairytale," "Summer in the City," "Break," "Magdalena."

The critic castigates the poet, the author of the poetry: "mediocrity," "a facile appeal to gray hair," "a second-rate poet or a mediocre translator." Those arrows, alas, are by no means aimed at the hero of the novel. The novel was written by the method of metaphorical autobiography. All its heroes and events have prototypes in Pasternak's life. In Novolay Nikolayevich we see Belyy and Skryabin. Strelnikov is a spiritual metaphor for

Mayakovskiy. Doctor of Philological Sciences Urnov knows that Boris Pasternak wrote, "This hero will have to represent something that is in the middle between me, Blok, Yesenin, and Mayakovskiy. And now when I write poetry, I always write it into a notebook to that person—Yuriy Zhivago." Consequently, the invective concerning the "mediocrity" is directed against B. Pasternak, the most profound poet of our century! And citizen too.

In 1937, when signatures were being collected for a letter approving the death sentence given to Yakir, Tukhachevskiy, and others, Pasternak was the only writer who refused to sign that shameful letter. In the novel we read a phrase that was fraught with risk of his life: "The vast majority of us are required to display constant duplicity that has been elevated into a system."

The critic shyly calls the persecution of the poet a "misfortune." Why cannot he today at least call everything by its real name?

"The poetry is no better, no deeper, than his judgments in the novel itself," Urnov writes. Today even schoolchildren know that it is great poetry. Let us take some "judgments" at random from the novel.

"The chief misfortune, the root of the future evil, was the loss of faith in the value of one's own opinion. The dominion of the phrase began to grow." That was written 40 years ago and was not devoid of depth.

"Although the clearing of the air and the liberation that were expected after the war did not arrive together with Victory, as was thought, nevertheless the portent of freedom was felt in the air during all the postwar years, constituting their own historical content." It would seem that these lines, which seem to refer to our present situation, also are not devoid of depth.

Similarly profound are his judgments concerning Christianity, without which one cannot understand the thousand-year history of our history, and behind which there stand the depths of spiritual culture—Dionisiy, Pokrovna-Nerli, Tolstoy, Dostoyevskiy, Florenskiy, Vernadskiy.

The evangelical topic is resolved by the poet in a surprisingly Russian way—"with frost, wolves, and the dark pine forest."

The poet understands Christ as that which is new, as a turning point in history, when "man dies not in the street under a fence, but within his own history, at the height of works devoted to the overcoming of death." "If the beast that is slumbering in man could be stopped by a threat, nevertheless, of being thrown into the lockup or of retribution beyond the grave, the highest emblem of mankind would be the circus lion-tamer with the whip,

rather than the preacher who sacrifices himself. But the fact of the matter is that man... was raised up... not by the stick, but by music: the irresistibility of unarmed truth..."

For the poet, Christianity is humanity, spirituality. In our time, when our public-affairs commentators have been unmasking Stalin, it is important to have a philosophical interpretation of his exorcism by Pasternak. Once, in a conversation, the poet classified Stalin as one of the despots of "the pre-Christian era of mankind," of the type of Herod and the "pock-marked Caligulas."

Hence this attention to the theme of Christianity—both in the prose and in the poetry.

The novel is hard to read. It is an anti-bestseller. But in world literature there are few pages equal in cinematographic strength to the description of the death of the hero, who expires in a slowly moving streetcar. The figure of a woman alternately overtakes him, and then lags behind—is the figure life, death, fate?...

For some reason Urnov attempts to prop up his lack of understanding of the novel, citing second-rate Western associates. For me, something more authoritative is the evaluation made by Albert Camus: "An incomparable book that far surpasses the entire mass of the world's literary output. This large book about love is not anti-Soviet. It is all-embracing..."

Today the metaphors of "The Garden of Gethsemane" from the novel are flourishing in a new and pertinent manner. The world's social and political figures, seeking mutual understanding, are repeating its peace-bearing lines:

The dispute cannot be resolved by steel. Lay your sword down, man.

And it is no accident that simultaneously there arises in one's consciousness an ancient idea of Pasternak's:

He ruled the current of ideas, and only then the country.

This is the most up-to-date, the sole necessary formula for mankind—society must be governable by spiritual consciousness.

Pasternak's Muse is for all mankind. The commission for the poet's literary heritage recommended to UNESCO that it declare 1990 Pasternak Year.

I do not wish to occupy the pages of PRAVDA with a literary critic's research on the rhythm of the novel, the metaphors, the feeling of nature, the philosophy. Literary publications exist for that purpose. The pages of a newspaper are needed for the topical struggle for economic revolution, the struggle against the "leaden abominations" in our life, the struggle for democratization and for the honor and dignity of the human individual.

I am in favor of different points of view. But the world of a genius, like a temple, must be entered with trepidation.

#### Thought About an Ideal, VI. Gusev

Like many works being published in our country nowadays, Boris Pasternak's novel "Doctor Zhivago" has been read for a long time in Europe and America. Both in foreign languages, and in Russian.

The merits and shortcomings of this work and of other works have been analyzed for a long time by serious and rather objective critics, although the influence of the political situation even here has actually been felt. It is no secret to anyone that this novel, once again like other works, has been read for a long time by many people in our country also. All this gives us arguments about these works a nuance of vexing anachronism, and sometimes a comicality. And, as one should expect, the question that arises less and less frequently is the question itself, so to speak, of the methodology of taking an attitude toward these works. Should we first shout "hurrah!" and only then analyze what our "progressive" critics advise? Should we immediately carry out a cold "analysis," which is psychologically difficult after so many years of silence or outright calumny against these works? Should we, in the case of doubt, simply remain silent?

It would seem that "serious people" have basically chosen precisely the last position. Why is that so? It is difficult to accuse them. They not only consciously decided to remain silent. They can still see examples of those who "stuck their neck out." They immediately "got what was coming to them" from three or four directions: "Don't take that pose of objectivity!"

However, the voice of the independent and intellectually, spiritually mature intelligentsia—that is, in my opinion, the true intelligentsia—must nevertheless be heard in these polemics, as it should be heard in general in the polemics and "disputes about paths" which are currently in progress in our country. This intelligentsia has acquired during the past 20-30 years a tremendous amount of spiritual and social experience and by degrees, from within, rather than outside the country and its culture, it has participated in the preparation of those processes of liberating thought and initiative which currently are proceeding with such difficulty in the country. The difficulties also consist in the fact that, with the lack of cultivation of *glasnost* and freedom of the press, many people currently are speaking stupidities not in their own name, but in the name of the Lord God, absolute truth, or, as a minimum, in the name of the classic authors of philosophy, literature, etc. Things have been going especially poorly for the latter.

Those are the sensations of the "neutral" intelligentsia, which actually is not neutral, but simply prefers the principle of the *depth* and truth at whatever the cost to the principle of absolutely any literary lie. A new lie against an old lie is still not the truth. A lie "in the name

of" the common good is still a lie, and we have seen that situation many times in our century: it revenges itself. Putting it more succinctly, without the principle of depth not a single process is strong. These people are not in favor of a shout, but in favor of depth. And these "wise old birds" cannot be fooled easily. For example, you can say as much as you want that artistic merit today is not important, that it does not pertain at all today. But what is artistic merit? Is it only stylistic grace-notes? Definitely not. It is a sense of the very *depth* of life in a work, without which the work is not effective... This sense of depth in everything is the only thing that is the attribute of a normal process. A process that has been supported by life.

The sincerity of D. Urmov, who reviewed the novel, is indisputable. But essence is essence. It seems to me that the critic, first of all, speaks too categorically and he has not avoided the simplified political context when interpreting the claims against Doctor Zhivago as a literary character. This is, so to speak, something tactical and partial. But there are doubts of a deeper strategic nature. D. Urmov underestimates the individualistic, in the narrow sense reflective, and, in a word, "intellectual" principle in literature and, in particular, underestimates the so-called "odd man out" in Russian literature. Zhivago is undoubtedly among that galaxy which, in its extreme versions, provide the ideal Myshkin and Bolkonskiy and the "loathsome petty demon" Peredonov, from F. Sologub's novel of the same name. Moreover, one should not think that this is always, so to speak, an intellectual by profession. We can see the features of that same type both in Samgin and in the stupendous figure of Grigoriy Melekhov in "Tikhii Don" [Quiet Flows the Don].

Wherein lies the essence of the "odd man out"—that traditional character in Russian literature since the times of Onegin and Pechorin?

He personally can be good or bad. At times he is "odd man out" in worldly practice, but, directly or indirectly, he acknowledges above himself the power precisely of an absolute spiritual ideal and, consciously or subconsciously, makes himself conform to it. And Zhivago is also that kind of person. He despises worldly games, packs and clans. He treasures freedom and secret independence, the sense of a high ideal. That is a very pertinent sense nowadays. I am not convinced that stylistically and in a purely graphic manner "Doctor Zhivago" is the highest work of the great lyricist Pasternak (Pasternak, not the poet Zhivago), or the author of powerful poetic prose in the form of "Okhrannaya gramota" [Safe-Conduct] and especially "Vozdushnyye puti" [Airways]. Similarly unconvinced of this, speaking honestly, is every serious person, despite all the shouts and pressure. Having now, once again, in front of our eyes the stupendous prose in the form of the best works of Nabokov, Platonov's "Kotlovan" [The Foundation Pit], and Bulgakov's "Master i Margarita" [Master and Margarita], and having the unshakeable "Tikhii Don"

and the best works of Bel'yy, Zoshchenko, and Babel, and the best of Olesha, Malyshev, Pilnyak, and others (of whom I wrote positively as long ago as those times when it was not so prestigious or safe to do so as it is now), we can speak calmly about this. However, this work by B. Pasternak is traditional in the good sense of that word. In general, culture is tradition. No one, for all his good intentions, is capable of breaking everything, of canceling everything and beginning anew: the past, nevertheless, is behind us. We all are responsible for it and we cannot get away from it. And so, at the basis of the novel "Doctor Zhivago" and at the basis of its chief character I see a thought that is traditional for us—a thought concerning the ideal in a situation that is very difficult for it, the desire to remind people of the light and harmony of the world under conditions of gloom and whirlwind. This is organic and it is tangible. It is not that this is something that D. Urnov does not see, but it is something that he does not want to see. He has his own concept, which is interesting and proper to some academic publication, and which is in general interesting as the latest in a series of opinions concerning the novel (which Urnov himself knows and which he mentions indirectly), but not in the current strained and sharp context. Although personal concern for the social health of society is tangible in it.

As for the hysterics and tactics around all of this, it seems to me that they are simply dubious in their atmosphere. Yes, but proving that! Nowadays you cannot prove anything to anyone. Everyone is the way he is. Regardless of how he dissembles.

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**Reader Arrested over Now-Released Books  
Challenges Authorities**

18000511a Moscow ZNAMYA in Russian  
No 7, Jul 88 pp 234-235

[Letters "From the ZNAMYA Mail"]

[Text] Good day to you, Mr. Editor.

June 1987 was doubly important for me: both you and NOVYY MIR published the long-suffering stories of M. Bulgakov and A. Platonov. At last! Almost as soon as I had received these copies I sat down and wrote a letter to the RSFSR Procurator's Office. The fact is that in April 1986 I had been convicted under article 190 to 2 years imprisonment. Along with N. Mandelstam's "Memoirs" and Tsvetayeva's "Lebediny stan" (a total of 10 titles), I was charged with distributing "The Foundation" and "The Heart of a Dog".

I was released in March this year. In a letter to the RSFSR Procurator I had requested that distribution of "The Foundation" ("the author slanders the building of socialism in the USSR") and "The Heart of a Dog" (the author slanders the leaders of the revolution") be excluded from the verdict. I requested that a number of

"ideologically harmful" (who dreamed up that formulation?) books be returned to me. They included F. Iskander's "Sandro from Chegem," V. Nabokov's "Distant Shores," "Lolita," "Invitation to a Beheading," and others. My letter was forwarded to the procurator's office in the Chuvash ASSR. And this is his long-awaited reply! Judge for yourself (I enclose a copy for you).

By profession I am a journalist. Ex-journalist, of course.

Sincerely,

(signed) Yu.V. Galochkin, 8 September 1987, Cheboksary

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USSR Procurator's Office Chuvash ASSR Procurator's  
Office of the Chuvash ASSR Procurator's Office  
30 August 1987 No 12-155-86 Cheboksary

Cheboksary Prospect Mir No 22, Apartment 12, to citizen  
Galochkin, Yu.V.

Your complaint to the RSFSR Procurator's Office has been examined with reference to the conviction.

Your guilt lay in systematic distribution in written, printed and other forms of books and journals with works containing deliberately false fabrications discrediting the Soviet state and social order during the period 1981 through 1985 and was established from the materials collected in the case. In court you yourself did not dispute that you knew about the slanderous nature of most of the books listed and that you distributed them and you confessed to what you had done.

The court made the proper determination of your action.

Arguments that Platonov's book "The Foundation" and M. Bulgakov's "The Heart of a Dog" are not anti-Soviet and that it is therefore necessary to conduct a second literary study are not sound since the anti-Soviet content is obvious. You yourself understood the anti-Soviet nature of these works and, knowing that these works are not being distributed, deliberately distributed them among your acquaintances.

The series of confiscated books that you list, recognized as being ideologically harmful, was destroyed on 21 March 1986 in the presence of witnesses M.S. Denisov and Ye.A. Kuklin. This was fully in accordance with the law.

No justification is found for a review of the conviction.

(signed) V.N. Znanina, Procurator for the Department of Inspection of Criminal Cases in the Courts, Junior Legal Counsel.

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To Procurator General of the USSR Comrade A.M. Rekunkov.

Dear Aleksandr Mikhaylovich,

Yu.V. Galochkin, convicted under Article 190 for distributing books and journals of an anti-Soviet nature, has appealed to the editorial office of the journal ZNAMYA. The books involved included A. Platonov's "The Foundation" and Mikh. Bulgakov's story "The Heart of a Dog." In mid-1987 these items written by very important Soviet writers were published one after the other in the journals NOVYY MIR (issue No 6) and ZNAMYA (issue No 6), and on the basis of this Yu.V. Galochkin requested a review of his case. The answer from the Procurator of the Chuvash ASSR asserting that there is no justification for a review of the case because the "anti-Soviet" of these works by Platonov and Bulgakov "is obvious" belongs, in our view, to the bureaucratic papers that V.I. Lenin defined as "essentially mockery."

We request that you order a careful examination of the case.

We enclose a copy of the answer received from the Procurator of the Chuvash ASSR.

(signed) G.Ya. Baklanov, Chief Editor of the journal ZNAMYA

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25 November 1987

To G.Ya. Baklanov, chief editor of the journal ZNAMYA.

I have to report that the criminal case against Yu.V. Galochkin has been reviewed by the RSFSR Procurator's Office.

The RSFSR Procurator's Office has lodged a protest with the legal collegium for criminal cases in the RSFSR Supreme Court regarding the judgment handed down by the Chuvash ASSR Supreme Court that convicted Yu.V. Galochkin.

The protest raises the question of changing the judgment by excluding from the charge the episodes connected with the dissemination of the works "The Foundation" by A. Platonov and "The Heart of a Dog" by M. Bulgakov as "ideologically harmful" and dismissing the case against Yu.V. Galochkin because his actions did not constitute a crime.

I shall report on the results of the review of Yu.V. Galochkin's application.

(signed) N.S. Trubin.

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This correspondence had already been prepared for press when another letter on the same subject arrived. To judge from the letter, intervention by the organs of justice is not required here. The hope is in common sense.

Dear Editor,

In 1982 on my instructions three copies were made of M. Bulgakov's "The Heart of a Dog." For this act the CPSU Mordovskiy Obkom imposed on me a severe reprimand with endorsement of my report record, using the wording "for duplicating politically harmful literature," and I was dismissed from my job.

In January of this year I appealed to the party commission, requesting that the wording of the censure be altered, but in response they required from me a document to the effect that the story is not a politically harmful work.

I earnestly request you to send me a short description of the story.

A little about myself. I was born in 1927 and at age 17 went to the 1st Belorussian Front and was demobilized when I was 24. I traveled to help in the construction of the Kuybyshev GES and there, while still working, I graduated from the tekhnikum and institute. Since 1960 I have been in Mordovia. For 10 years I was chief of a housing construction combine and for the same period have been the director of a planning institute. During these years in Mordovia I have been awarded two orders—the Order of the Red Banner and the "Badge of Honor"—and have received two testimonials from the Mordovian ASSR Supreme Soviet and been awarded the title "Honored Construction Worker of the Mordovian ASSR." I have been a party member for 32 years (at the time of the prosecution) and had never received a party censure.

Yours sincerely and hopefully,

(signed) Leonid Borisovich Blikder, member of the CPSU since 1950.

Saransk.

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#### **Director Karasik On Role Of Political Cinema In Perestroyka**

18000481 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 23 Jun 88p 4

[Interview with Yuliy Karasik, time and place not cited; interviewer, G. Simanovich: "The Conservatives' Redoubts Are Strong Even Today"]

[Text] In 1968, the film "June Sixth" by Mikhail Shatrov and Yuliy Karasik was shown to audiences. The figure of Vladimir Ilyich (i.e., Lenin), as created by Yu. Kayurov,

and the style of the film itself were harsh, stern, and austere. All of this turned out to be an implicit polemic against the traditions and clichés of past years. The film did not appeal to those who had appropriated to themselves the monopolistic right to interpret history and the figure of Lenin in accordance with the treatment adopted and cultivated in "A Short Course..." and subsequently propagated by the staunch executors of its author's will. It took 20 years until "June Sixth" was again made available to general audiences. The director of this film, RSFSR People's Artist, Yuliy Karasik, is working on a new work about Lenin and the revolution.

[Opening statement] The script, which we have tentatively agreed to call "Lenin: The Last Days," is being written by Yegor Yakovlev. It is still too early to say anything about the future film. Nevertheless, we know a thing or two about it even today. We do not wish, nor do we intend to concentrate on depicting only the historical and biographical facts, no matter how dramatic they may be. No matter what we did, we would never catch up with journalism, public writing, and publications of archival documents. Before our film comes out the new facts and figures will be known to millions of people. It has seemed more important to us to try to understand what happened in the late 20's and early 30's; why the revolution diverged from the path laid out by Lenin; how all this became possible; whether it was inevitable; where the causes for this tragedy lie. We want to try, along with our audience, to make sense of all this. Not for the sake of historical truths, per se, but for the sake of a clearer, more sober understanding of today's political and spiritual situation, in which one senses a clear echo of the time when the brilliant leader of our revolution, at the end of his days, tragically understood the extent to which the powerful and dangerous force of opposition was building redoubts on the nation's path to true socialism. These redoubts, I think, are still strong today.

[Question] Can it be that openness, manifest democratization, and economic reforms are not sufficient guarantees of the irreversibility of perestroika?

[Answer] Prerequisites, but not guarantees. There is no need to panic and go into hysterics, but it is essential that we look at things soberly and realistically: we still have neither the expertise nor an economic mechanism that would work faultlessly in the face of any attempts to attack progressive principles. Here are but two examples. The article which has become the talk of the town, "I cannot relinquish my principles," has thrown the champions of perestroika into a state of depression; while its opponents have taken heart, as if hearing the signal for a global attack. And this in itself has deep significance. It would seem that, in itself, the fact that an anti-perestroika article was published is a natural thing: after all this is what glasnost is all about. It is even a good thing that they had the opportunity to express themselves so completely, since they revealed their spiritual and political impoverishment, their self-interested egotism. But why should some newspaper article, and one written

moreover in a sadly familiar peremptory tone, be perceived as a political directive? It is a matter of our slavish habit of obedience! And until we cast out the slaves within us, the major danger to perestroika, the main inhibiting factor will continue to lie and do its work within ourselves!

But no less dangerous are the external factors, so to speak. Look at what happened not long before the passing of the law on cooperation in the development of cooperative movements, one of the most important preconditions for the economic recovery of our society. Somewhere in the seclusion of an office, in accordance with the worst traditions of voluntarism, a document was accepted which struck at the roots of the very idea of the development of cooperation. And those who would enter into such cooperative agreements were slapped with a progressive tax three times greater than the one which was introduced to stifle the New Economic Policy. Who could doubt that this policy would keep thousands of honorable people, ready to work from dawn to dusk, from joining cooperatives. I can imagine the joy of the petty bureaucrats who were losing sleep over the notion that some member of a building cooperative in Siberia was earning more than they. But the most shocking thing was how easily, unceremoniously, and simply decisions such as this one, which has such enormous significance for the life of our country, are made. While this is still possible, while bureaucrats are able to act with such dispatch and impunity, the most serious danger still remains.

[Question] And yet the mechanisms through which such things are being monitored are making themselves felt. Remember, how actively and rigorously the controversial points in the proposed law on cooperation were discussed at the last session of the Council of Deputies. And after all serious corrections were indeed made.

[Answer] This in itself will not throw the bureaucrat into a panic. All the experience of Soviet society argues that rights and laws are worthless without a clear-cut reliable mechanism for protecting them. Freedom of speech and assembly have always been stipulated by our laws, but who ensured that those rights were observed, who offered a real guarantee?

And the presumption of innocence is the very foundation of jurisprudence, the most just and humane principle. And with our bitter experience we should immediately affirm the most rigorous presumption of innocence, so that the entire burden of proof lies on the shoulders of the investigators. The time has finally come to arrange things so that a suspect arrested by investigative agencies is allowed to live under normal conditions and is not treated like a criminal until the time he is convicted. After all, until the verdict is delivered, he enjoys all the rights of a citizen.

I have gone into this in order to show that judicial and legal reform are essential. We must, finally, rectify the system for rigorous and effective monitoring of the observance of laws with the help of the procurator's office, the courts, Soviet organs, and the community.

[Question] Let us hope that, after the XIXth Party Conference, improvements will occur here as well.

[Answer] I too, of course, have high hopes for the forthcoming conference. As for elections, then, in my view, in every case and especially in the future, we must ensure true competition, a number of alternative candidates, and availability of maximum information about the candidates. Alas, the mechanism which would ensure that all these conditions prevail does not yet exist.

All our past experience, no matter how painful, only confirms that activism and political enfranchisement are not sufficient even to the voters themselves. We must not fool ourselves when we read the results of sociological surveys saying, for example, that 95 percent of those interviewed are in favor of perestroika. A significant portion of them, alas, have only the most approximate notion of what is being discussed, do not foresee the effects of the impending changes on themselves, and are completely subject to the stereotypes of the old way of thinking. There are millions of such people. And today I worry that the restructuring our cinematography is undergoing has failed to take into account the future need to address these millions, to reach their minds, consciousness, and hearts.

[Question] What do you have in mind?

[Answer] The public education function of cinematography. Please note that, as a result of the adoption of the new model by the studios, including our "Mosfilm" studio, associations have sprung up with the most varied ideological, thematic, and genre "specialties." But it is simply amazing that nowhere has a place been found for a political film association, a creative community of film-makers which today could work in a goal-directed manner to develop the main political direction for films. Would not such an association be the place for the creation of films such as those made during the period of stagnation from scripts by Gelman, Dvoretzkiy, Chernyye, and Bokarev? Even in those days such films raised issues such as the intolerability of direct interference by party organs in production and planning, the primacy of the human factor, and drunkenness as a social evil.

Shouldn't such associations be the source of films such as "Repentance," a picture which inspired the then still timid adherents of perestroika, while making its opponents understand that perestroika was a serious and long-term matter. Shouldn't the major efforts of our film industry be concentrated in such associations?

I am a passionate adherent of the changes which occurred in the Cinematographers Union after its Vth Congress. However, (as I have stated publicly more than once) I cannot help but be saddened by the fact that the subsequent restructuring activities of the union have not been focussed on the goal of fostering the creation of highly artistic films to aid in the spiritual and political renewal of society, but on questions of cost-accounting and self-financing, which, given the critical situation which exists today, must, I feel very deeply, be secondary. I acknowledge that the members of our audience are physically and spiritually weary and cannot, without some effort, view serious, complex films, even ones which are highly artistic. All the more reason why we must create and use every means possible to bring the viewers social-political films, films which are often complex. This is a very difficult task. All the more reason for making every effort to perform it. But it cannot be performed at all if we start our work by assigning primary importance to the notion of self-financing. This is precisely why for two years I was unable to start work on a film about the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democrat Workers' Party, about the birth of Bolshevism, and the problems of centralization and democratization—issues which are also central in our political life today. The script, which, in its time, was approved by the entire hierarchy of authorities, would have been filmed long ago if it had not been for considerations of cost accounting. They say to me, "But will the film draw an audience, will it pay for itself?" As if anyone could know this in advance! By the way, when the film "June Sixth" was released, they also asked, "Who will go to see it?" Well, more than 50 million people went to see it.

[Question] But there are already many political films in documentary cinema. While artistic cinema, by its very nature, does not have as much of an effect, direct and rapid, as all of us, no doubt, would wish.

[Answer] Makers of documentaries are undoubtedly more efficient. It is simpler for them. But such simplicity is insidious. Alongside the serious works, we have also gotten documentary "flashes in the pan" on political topics. Sensationalism or popular appeal of historical material appears to these film makers to be sufficient in itself. And yet the past and present processes operating in the life of society must be interpreted.

I consider the absence of an association for political film the result of the haste with which the new model of cinematography was developed and adopted.

By the way, speaking of the new model, a rather strange incident occurred. The discussion was focussed on separating creativity from production, film studios from film manufacturing operations. Who is not well aware that these two have different missions? And the establishment of a relationship of collaboration and strict cost accounting between them is obviously the most advantageous way to achieve what is most important—the

growth of the artistic level of films. And suddenly, for some unknown reason, another original model arose and was immediately adopted. This model retained the lack of integration of the film studio and film production unit, but separated the directors from this "whole." Evidently, such "small fry" as directors are not essential to this important endeavor. And what is the obvious result of this? In the recent elections for the workers' council of "Mosfilm," i.e., the highest organ of collegial management, not one, I repeat, not one single director was elected. It would be no more farfetched if not a single physician were elected to the workers' council of a hospital. This is yet another persuasive demonstration that the organization of the studio is ill considered. This model, so convenient from the standpoint of production, but so inauspicious to creativity, must be altered and the sooner the better.

In concluding our conversation, I would like to return once again to the topic which is most highly charged for all of us—the irreversibility of perestroika. For all their attempts, all the refinements of the conservative forces, they cannot help but understand that they are opposed not only by the majority of our people, not only by the best representatives of the party, intelligentsia, and workers of the nation, but by all of creative humanity, whose fate is closely bound up with the fate of Soviet perestroika, which has also extended to the sphere of foreign policy. I see in this a serious cause for optimism.

9285

**Aytmatov Describes Plans as New Chief of Foreign Literature Journal**

18000470a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jun 88 p 6

[Interview with INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA's new Editor-in-Chief Chingiz Aytmatov by V.Vologdin. "A Road to a Journal" under the "Names and Events" rubric; first paragraph is a boldface introduction, last a conclusion]

[Text] The journal INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA has a new editor-in-chief, Chingiz Aytmatov. He was chosen at a general meeting of the journal's staff. He was selected in absentia, from a list of 17 candidates all of whom were well known in the world of literature and whose books were their best recommendation. Ch. Aytmatov will turn 60 next December. He is a member of the KiSSR Academy of Science, the European Academy of Science, Art and Literature, the World Academy of Science and Art and the Club of Rome. As a writer, Aytmatov needs no introduction, but this is our first meeting with him as an editor.

[Question] The rumor that you are going to become the head of the journal has circulated for a long time. How do you explain the fact that it has become official only recently?

[Answer] It took me a long time to make up my mind. I was concerned that I would not be able to combine my

duties as president of the KiSSR Writers' Union and with those of editor-in-chief of a Moscow journal. I have just made the decision.

[Question] Do you consider yourself an expert in foreign literature?

[Answer] I have read only works that have been published here in Russian. In this respect, I am not much different from the majority of Soviet readers. The advantage of this situation is that both the editor and the subscriber of the journal want to broaden their literary knowledge. The journal's staff is comprised of highly competent professionals. I depend on their support and trust their knowledge and taste.

[Question] Will you bring a team of your own to the journal, as it often happens when leadership changes?

[Answer] I have no such plans. Staff members are professionals dedicated to their work, what else could the editor wish for? Russia's translation school has always been known for its extremely high standards. The journal's staff jealously upholds this tradition and encourages its development.

[Question] Since you will have to divide your time between two posts, the role of those who will manage the business in your absence will be very important. I mean your first deputy.

[Answer] I can give you his name: Nikolay Anastasyev, Ph.D. in Linguistics, an expert in American literature and an ancient contributor to INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA. His appointment as my assistant was the only condition that I have set.

[Question] If the top editorial post at any Moscow journal were available to you, which one would you choose?

[Answer] Still INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA. A particular attraction to the cultures of the West and the East is one of Russia's characteristics. And, the experience of world literature is vitally important for the development of our multinational literature. This journal is unique in the world, and I have always been its diligent reader. For me, as well as for many others, it has been a true window to the world.

[Question] You agree, don't you, that for many years we have been shown through that window a rather narrow part of the world literary process?

[Answer] Yes, this is true. The literary process was made to look as it was dogmatically expected to look. Often, serious literature was sacrificed for the sake of political rewards, propaganda stereotypes or even geography whereby it was more important to publish an example of a country's literature rather than discover a good writer. I dislike artificial comparisons between the literatures of socialist countries and those of capitalist ones. In a work of art, all problems are solved at the artistic level. As a result, the journal has been losing subscribers; unlike

other Moscow publications that have sharply increased circulation, it suffered losses in the latest subscription renewal period. Our task is to woo readers to the journal.

[Question] Can you tell us how you plan to do it?

[Answer] In the simplest and proven way: we will introduce the reader to the most important events of world culture. We will publish Graham Greene's "Monsignor Quixote," Jean Paul Sartre's "Nausea," Arthur Miller's "Memoirs," N. Yukio's "Golden Temple". We have the literature of modern China to discover and "desk" [unpublished] manuscripts to read; just like here, such manuscripts are being published in Yugoslavia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, etc. We are also greatly interested to something that is called Russian emigre culture.

[Question] In this case, INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA will have to compete with other "thick" journals.

[Answer] The important thing is that with INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA's participation, the overall picture of the world cultural process that is being provided jointly by journals and publishing houses become more authentic and be better able to enrich the reader. If this occurs, you can consider our mission fulfilled. Today, despite salient economic difficulties, our nation is experiencing an unprecedented rise of human spirit, and the journal must find a second breath to become worthy of a time of great revelations.

[Question] Planet-wide mentality has been an old and, as they used to say, personal idea of yours. It has found its incarnation in the work of the Issyk-Kul Forum which you founded. And now, INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA.

[Answer] In a sense, the two initiatives will converge: the journal will become a kind of a representative of the Issyk-Kul Forum. In addition, I plan to form an international editorial council for the journal. It will be comprised of important cultural figures from many countries. Arthur Miller (USA), Christa Wolfe (GDR) and Antonino Guerra (Italy) have already given their consent to join it. This is, if you will, a form of reverse connection of the journal with foreign cultures.

[Question] Those of your colleagues who combine the duties of heading a journal and literary work of their own always complain how difficult that find it. Are you concerned about it?

[Answer] My situation is even more complicated: in addition, I will also have to divide my time between Moscow and Frunze. But there are instances in history and in human life that leave us no choice: they dictate us what is most important for us today. For me, it is the opportunity to head the journal. Moreover, I think that the editor-in-chief should be neither a manager nor an overseer. His task is to set direction, to chart the course and to inspire people with ideas.

[Question] Editor-in-chief of a literary journal is one of the rarest professions, at least it is more rare than that of an astronaut. What is it like, for you?

[Answer] It is akin to a prophet. Yes, I have no better word for it.

The interview was over. Chingiz Aytmatov was rushing to his first meeting with INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA's staff. Before he left, he asked me for the office's address.

12892

#### Tajik-Afghan Film Cooperation Discussed 18000470b Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 5 Jun 88 p 3

[Article by TadjikTA correspondent, unnamed: "A Cinema Artists Meeting" under the "Tajikistan-Afghanistan" subheading]

[Text] Afghan cinema artists Abaydullo Urakzay, Musa Rodmanesh and Khabib Tulu took back with them to their country a film documenting their compatriots' life and studies at the boarding school Shakhriyau. The new film will show the kids' studies, athletics pursuits, technical activities, and work at the school garden.

"Our compatriots want first-hand cinematic information," said Abaydullo Urakzay. "I think that based on Afghans' reaction to this film we could make another one, especially for your television audiences."

The Afghan cinema artists have close ties with the Soviet people. For instance, Musa Rodmanesh, an NDPA member, considers the fact that he played one of the leads in the new feature film "The Only Son" as his main contribution to the friendship. The film's story is about the friendship between a Soviet internationalist soldier and an Afghan young man. A new documentary, "The Red Army," depicted the heroism of soldiers taking part in the defense of the revolution's conquests.

During meetings with their colleagues at the republic's television studios, the Kabul cinema artists noted that Afghans watch Tajik television programs which do not require translation.

The visitors saw films about Afghanistan made by Soviet director Evgeniy Kuzin and expressed their high opinion of the truthful journalistic account on the hard road of the Afghan people.

They also discussed the establishment of TV bridges between Dushanbe and Kabul and television program and film exchanges. First secretary of the TASSR Cinema Artists' Union Davlat Khudonazarov said that Soviet cinema artists have devised a plan of artistic cooperation and gave it to the visitors to take back to Kabul, to the administration of the Afghanistan's Union of Artists.

12892

### **Estonia's Toome on Glasnost and Inter-Ethnic Tensions**

*18006502a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 4 Jun 88 p 1*

[ETA report: "National Relations: Game With One Goal Post?; Press conference with I. Toome, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia"]

[Text] On 2 June a press conference with I. Toome, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, was held in Tallinn. The press conference had been organized by the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Estonian CP Central Committee and the ESSR Journalists' Union.

The press conference was opened by Yu. Paalma, chairman of the board of ESSR Journalists' Union, and editor of the SPORDILEKHT newspaper.

"It seems to me," I. Toome said in his opening statement, "that there does not currently exist in our country, or even outside its borders, a single person who has not sensed the considerable changes in our life. Everyone evaluates in his own way the processes that have been occurring, everyone has his own view. And we are becoming increasingly aware that everyone has the right to do so. Pluralism has introduced into our life the conflict of views and opinions, a real political struggle without which perestroyka would be inconceivable. At times perestroyka has been proceeding painfully for its participants. We must become fully aware that the initiative of democratization, of the de-Stalinization of society, proceeds from the party, from its leadership. But the further fate of perestroyka depends upon support and initiative from below. Everyone must become not a fellow traveler, but an active participant in the renovation of society. And it is important at such time that one's tongue and legs do not outpace intelligence."

Replying to journalists' questions pertaining to the so-called painful problems in the republic's life, I. Toome dwelt in detail on questions of national relations.

The theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Party Conference, he said, concentrate the attention of public opinion on many of the most diverse facets of the restructuring of our life, which, in an atmosphere of democratization and glasnost have already, in one way or another, been included on the agenda in Estonia also. An especially important place in today's pivotal processes is occupied by national relations.

Without denying the successes of the Leninist national policy, we must, if only with hindsight, admit that in the field of national relations the scales have been seriously out of balance for a long time. It was asserted that everything was in order, and that there were no problems. The basic emphasis was placed upon things that

were done for show, and upon laudatory speeches. Serious scientific research studies on national relations were not published, no consideration was taken of the opinions of many scientists who were attempting to take an objective approach to the problem, and the results of those research studies were not given any publicity.

However, life showed at the same time that national relations, the development of every nation and people, require constant attention. Otherwise the painful points smolder like pieces of coal under a layer of cinders; with definite conditions exist, they can take on the nature of an acute national conflict, going so far as to include acts of destruction and even human sacrifices, and to sow among nations new hostility or revive old hostility. In the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the upcoming party conference it is emphasized that the basis for resolving the questions linked with national relations is provided by two circumstances: first, the political course, when the satisfying of the interests of all nations is combined with the bringing of them closer together and with mutual aid; secondly, internationalistic ideology, which is incompatible either with nationalism or with chauvinism.

It is completely natural that the mass information media in our republic have also been devoting a large amount of attention recently to national relations, and that individual points of view have been expressed both by Estonians and by representatives of other nationalities, both by intellectuals and by workers and people in the most varied occupations. As a result, many problems that previously were mentioned only in a narrow circle—and even then only in whispers—have proved to be the property of glasnost.

It is also necessary to note that by no means has everyone proven to be sufficiently mature for this kind of frank discussion. Survivals of conservative awareness are especially stable. Persons who think that way feel that everything that has been published by way of the mass information media channels automatically means the point of view of the Estonian CP Central Committee and the government of Soviet Estonia. Being incapable of orienting themselves independently in the various opinions expressed by the sides engaged in the discussion—which discussion is typical of socialist pluralism—they continue, by habit, to publish appeals for help which are addressed on high. Others who are very slow to give up their positions are the proponents of dogmatic ideas concerning socialism—they see in the publication of various (and at times extremely contradictory) opinions "the undermining of the foundations of socialism" and they hasten to speak out in defense of those "foundations."

Nor have we been able to avoid those who hasten to express themselves in the complicated area of national relations primarily for purposes of self-advertisement and the winning of popularity. They do not select either a rostrum or expressions. The most important thing is to

attract the attention of public opinion. In the name of that, they make rigid, at times even crude, statements, without thinking carefully either about the true meaning of what has been said, or about the frequently extremely detrimental consequences. The word, however, is such a powerful weapon that it must be handled intelligently, especially when one is dealing with such a sensitive sphere as national relations. Of course, it is possible here to make an appeal that everyone can hear—the appeal to glasnost—but you might recall that in January of this year Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, at a meeting with workers in the mass information media, with ideological workers, and with the administrators of the creative unions stated clearly that the Soviet press is not a private shop.

Open discussion about the critical questions pertaining to the fundamental transformation of our life, including those dealing with the painful points of national relations, obviously must be continued. But I would appeal to people to argue not on their own personal basis, but to argue on the basis of justice, honestly, without any prejudices, or tempestuous emotions. True, we do not yet have any firmly established habits for conducting a dispute or for maintaining efficiency in discussion, but they cannot be acquired in any way other than in the course of practical debates. Nevertheless, from the point of view of ethics, it is elementary that when people engage in polemics, insults and belittling comments and reproaches are inadmissible. If an author has not thought carefully about the moral aspect of his statement, the editorial office must do so—especially since an insult in a newspaper or on a television broadcast is incommensurate, from the point of view of its repercussions, with an insulting comment made in a discussion among coworkers or neighbors. In the public statements on the national question which have been made broadly in our country, the persons making them have not succeeded in avoiding the making of insulting remarks directed at a particular nation. And yet it ought to be necessary for us not to have to possess a sense of proportion and tact, but also to take into consideration both the situation that has objectively developed, and the possible repercussions. Usually a person's horizon and his tolerance are directly linked; it is all the more astonishing to hear, out of the mouth of a well-educated intellectual, words that attest to national intolerance. While I understand his pain for the fate of his people, I cannot in any way share his clearly expressed aspiration to draw a line of demarcation between various peoples, to grant privileges to one and to crowd all the others off to one side. It is completely incorrect to put on casual hooliganism the label of nationalism. One can scarcely consider to be well thought-out the recommendation concerning the paid resettlement of migrants, no matter what stands behind that recommendation. The problems of non-Estonians living in Estonia must still be resolved by those non-Estonians themselves. It would be desirable, at the same time, to continue the limitation of migration by those

means and methods that the Buro of the Estonian CP Central Committee recommended in its resolution at the beginning of the current year.

It ought to be understandable to everyone that the area of national relations does not allow any game that is played into a single basket or toward a single goal post. The participants in the discussion and resolution of these problems in any multinational state include representatives of various national groups. We all have a self-interest in the most rapid elimination of bottlenecks. But in the area of national relations, haste very easily can lead to a completely opposite, negative result. First of all we must have the optimal alternatives for resolving the existing programs, alternatives that have been worked out jointly by scientists and practical workers, and that are capable of penetrating into the future of the problems. For the time being, we know only that the area of national relations is rich in contradictions, and that there also exists in this sphere a large number of objective circumstances that can be neither ignored nor forced. Unfortunately, the materials that have been published in our republic do not sparkle with constructiveness.

In the situation that has developed, the press, as well as oral propaganda, have been called upon to see the main task in: providing the readers, listeners, and viewers with serious and reliable information about national relations, because, if such information is lacking, rumors begin to spread and incorrect attitudes become firmly established. It is also to go beyond the narrow confines of Estonia, to see the problems more broadly—on a nationwide, worldwide scale. Otherwise our approaches to national questions will problem to be fruitless, and the roots and the prospects for regulating the problem also will not be found.

In his letter to Paul LaFargue, Engels wrote that equality among nations is as necessary as the equality among individuals. We must honor that equality. The key to the further development of nations lies in the organic combination of the independence of the union republics, with their responsibility for nationwide interests. The Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the Party Conference state that it is in this that our power lies, as well as the pledge of the flourishing both of our entire country and every individual nation or people.

I. Toome also answered numerous questions asked by the journalists, which touched upon the work of the recently conducted 9th Plenum of the Estonian CP Communist Party, various aspects of ideological work, the rate of perestroika in Estonian SSR, the preparation for the 19th All-Union Party Conference, etc.

S. A. Villo, head of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Estonian CP Central Committee, took part in the press conference.

**Estonian CP CC Secretary Outlines Reforms for Legal System**

18000495 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 16 Jun 88 p 1

[Article by P. Vasikov, department head, Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party: "Criminal Law Organs and Restructuring: Toward the Thesis of the Socialist Legal State"]

[Text] The course of revolutionary renewal of society and democratization of public life taken by the 27th CPSU Congress is impossible without strengthening legality and legal order and securing the constitutional rights and legal interests of citizens.

The years of stagnation, which led the country to the brink of crisis, had an impact on jurisprudence too. Many laws in the spirit of socialism remained such only on paper; they were replaced and emasculated by departmental enactments and instructions, whose numbers ran into several hundred thousand. There were serious deviations from legal norms in the daily practices of state and economic organs. The state suffered enormous losses from mismanagement, while at the same time attempts to show initiative and enterprise were punished. Crime grew. Even those who were supposed to uphold the law, employees of the criminal law organs, violated the law.

Therefore, restructuring of the criminal law organs, which was begun at the initiative of the CPSU Central Committee, is not accidental. Its time has objectively come. In a comparatively short time concrete measures have been taken to increase the role of procuracy supervision and improve the work of the state arbitration system and the activities of corrective labor institutions, precinct militia inspectors, and so on. But this is still not enough. Only switching the entire legal system to a democratic, humanitarian, and open basis and creating a socialist legal state can reliably guarantee that the revolutionary transformations of society are irreversible. In this connection the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th all-Union party conference, which were approved by the May Plenum of the party Central Committee, envision carrying out major legal reform aimed at a radical improvement in the work of all organs whose duty it is to strengthen legality and protect the democratic principles of state life and the law, liberty, and citizens' interests.

It can be said that there have already been some positive changes in the work of our republic's criminal law organs. The people have begun to receive more information on their activities and about existing problems. This is fostered by reports of court, procuracy, and militia workers in labor collectives and residence areas, meetings of executives of criminal law organs with the population of the cities and rayons organized by a department of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist

Party, regular press conferences by the ministry of internal affairs, publication of summaries of the fight against crime every 10 days, and the like.

The ESSR Procuracy has begun conducting public inspections of compliance with law in cities, rayons, and at specific enterprises. In this case the working people are notified in advance of the times and purposes of the inspections. To achieve greater objectivity representatives of the enterprises being inspected are included in the group of inspectors. Procuracy employees avoid quantitative indicators in their work, focusing on prevention and elimination of violations of the law and the conditions and factors that foster them and prompt and full reimbursement of harm caused to the state or to particular citizens by unlawful actions. The approach to cases of so-called official crime has changed. Procurators now are guided by the principle, "Everything not prohibited by the law is permitted," and this means that no one is being held criminally accountable for violating departmental instructions any more. Moreover, such cases from past years are being reviewed. For example, the presidium of the ESSR Supreme Court granted the appeals of the republic procurator to reverse the court verdicts against T. Kork, director of the Tamsalu Bread Products Combine; Kh. Novik, former chief engineer at the same combine; L. Syyru, administrator at the Lagedis Hospital, and a number of other citizens because their files did not show the elements of the crimes.

Punitive practices have changed. Whereas before most of the people who came before the court were sentenced to loss of freedom, in 1987 this form of sentence was applied to only one-third of the persons convicted. Judges became more independent in making decisions. The number of acquittals and cases dismissed by the court on rehabilitation grounds rose significantly. More criminal cases were returned by the courts for additional investigation. The ESSR Procuracy formed a group to uphold the constitutional rights of citizens in the criminal law process. The participation of a procurator in all cases of restoring workers and employees to the job and all cases of eviction of citizens from their apartments without giving them other living space has been ensured.

There has been a great deal of talk recently about the need to establish public monitoring of the activity of criminal law organs. All-encompassing monitoring can only be accomplished by legislative means, and this question is now under review. At the same time a number of questions can be resolved on a working basis. For example, beginning this year representatives of the public, usually people's guards, have been assigned on a daily basis to republic sobering-up stations and watch to see that detention of citizens is done lawfully. The Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party recently proposed that the republic Council on Culture of the creative unions select candidates who could be added to the observation commissions of a number of city and rayon soviets. (The observation commissions

have very broad powers; among other things, they regularly monitor the activity of corrective labor institutions and other organs that carry out court sentences.) The republic Supreme Soviet is already discussing the question of forming a commission on legality and internal security and the question of a significant broadening of the functions of the commissions on socialist legality and preservation of public order of the city and rayon ispolkoms.

This activity is beginning to bear fruit. In the republic last year the volume of report-padding and other distortions of the reporting system decreased more than three times, and the loss from production of defective goods declined. In comparison with 1984 crime dropped by one-quarter, and the number of serious crimes was down almost 40 percent. We were able to reduce the number of unlawful detentions and arrests of citizens. At the same time restructuring cannot stand still. We move move ahead. Therefore, the administrative organs department of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party, with participation by prominent legal theoreticians and practitioners, worked out a series of proposals to promote the conception of the socialist legal state.

With the expanded rights of Union republics in the areas of state management, planning and finance and the deepening of regional self-government various discrepancies are possible in the process of applying subordinate legislation and there can be conflicts of the interests of Union republics with the interests of USSR administrative organs. Constitutional law councils (constitutional courts) should be set up at the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics to resolve these disputes. The USSR Constitutional Court could have the following functions: interpretation of the principles of the USSR Constitution; evaluating the correspondence of the Union republic Constitution and its laws to USSR laws; evaluating the correspondence of normative and administrative enactments of the USSR Council of Ministers, ministries, and departments to the USSR Constitution and USSR laws; reviewing disputes on questions of state management, planning, and finance between USSR and republic organs; ensuring constitutional supervision in the activity of criminal law organs; organizing protection of the political rights and liberties of citizens. The constitutional law councils (constitutional courts) of the Union republics would have analogous functions, but applicable to the republics. To broaden glasnost in the work of the militia, courts, and procuracy the question of publishing court and criminal statistics, including figures that reflect the quality of work by criminal law organs, should be raised at the 19th party conference. In turn a draft law could be prepared in the republic on the times and procedures for reports by employees of criminal law organs to the people.

To give concrete form to the idea of legal reform and guarantee the principles of the presumption of innocence, the adversarial nature of legal proceedings, equality of the parties, and glasnost and openness of court

proceedings, it is our opinion that the following are necessary: establish a procedure by which judges are elected (or appointed) by the Supreme Soviet of the Union republic for the period until they reach pension age, providing in law the grounds and procedures for early removal of them from their position; establish a system of administrative courts; simplify the procedures for hearing criminal cases involving less dangerous and obvious crimes (those cases where the defendant admits his guilt should be decided by the judge alone, observing the right to defense); increase the number of peoples assessors when hearing cases of serious crimes; establish that selection of the place of incarceration—detention under guard—is decided by the court only; adopt a law on accountability for interference in court activities and for showing disrespect for the court; establish a unified, independent investigative apparatus which is not a part of the system of either the Ministry of Internal Affairs or the USSR Procuracy; significantly broaden the right of the defendant to participate in his own defense in the early stages of the investigation; establish immunity of defense attorneys in performance of their professional duties; envision the possibility of appealing verdicts of the ESSR Supreme Court sitting as a trial body.

The question of special clothing for participants in the court trial also deserves attention. And it does not seem that there is any reason to wait for instructions from the center to decide it.

When establishing the socialist legal state two important tasks must be accomplished: significantly broaden the training of qualified attorneys, and give the entire population fundamental knowledge of the law. This is necessary for the following reasons. The profound economic reform, the transition to cost accounting and self-financing, and the transition of the economic system from a directive to a contract basis demand a significant strengthening of enterprise legal services. Essentially every organization now needs its own executive-attorneys. The formation of joint ventures with foreign companies and appearance of republic enterprises in the international market demand that we train international lawyers. We talk of participation of the defense in the earliest stages of the preliminary investigation (the first interrogation; taking testimony which may later provide the grounds for the indictment, and the like), but it is unrealistic to think of accomplishing this task with the existing personnel of the defense attorney group. Specialists are also needed in organs of the court and procuracy. All this illustrates that as early as next year we should significantly increase the admission of students to the law school at the university. Even if this is done we will not have any results for 6 years.

Because supremacy of the law, which expresses the will of the people, is a fundamental feature of the socialist legal state and the law becomes the foundation on which state and party organs, public organizations, and all officials and citizens must act, every person must be familiar with civil, labor, administrative, and criminal

law. To achieve this we must develop and introduce a state program for universal legal education as quickly as possible. In our opinion, reorganizing the bulletin SOVETSKOYE PRAVO into a monthly law journal would help raise legal sophistication. The conception of the publication VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA ESSR I PRAVITELSTVA ESSR should be reviewed and the range of enactments published in it expanded, while eliminating publication of ukases on awards and ensuring that all criminal law organs and, where necessary, citizens can subscribe.

Through legal indoctrination we must make everyone realize that democracy is not permissiveness and lawlessness, but the highest level of discipline and order. It is inseparable from legality, and does not exist outside and above the law. We must support the people's desire to humanize and democratize the law and develop the lawmaking initiative of the masses. But as long as a law is in effect, it must be respected. "Dura lex, sed lex."

The 19th party conference will give answers to many questions of improving the legal system. But party, soviet, and criminal law organs must work energetically, without waiting for the decisions of the conference. Especially because we already have the initial program. This is the comprehensive plan of steps to strengthen socialist legality and legal order in the republic, ratified by the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party. It set out specific ways to organize legal indoctrination of the masses, improve glasnost in the activity of criminal law organs, strengthen state discipline, preserve socialist property, and step up the fight against crime.

Our primary task is to strengthen legality and order and prevent the slightest deviations from the requirements of the law.

11176

#### **LiSSR KGB Chief Discusses Restructuring, Rehabilitations**

18000519 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
11 Jun 88 p 2

[Interview of SOVETSKAYA LITVA and TIESA correspondents with the Chairman of the LiSSR Committee for State Security, Eduardas Eysmuntas: "On Guarding Interests of Person and State"]

[Text][Question] What do you consider the most important issue in the Theses of the 19th All-Union Party Conference? What is there that you disagree with and what would you like to define more precisely?

[Answer] In my opinion, the ideological, social, and political concepts of the Theses are formulated in such a way that each Soviet citizen would first and foremost understand the necessity of making his concrete input into restructuring.

It is better to plant one tree than to talk idly doing nothing. The Party is calling for working honestly and professionally. We must strengthen our economic power, raise international prestige, solve social problems, and liquidate the results of the personality cult and the period of stagnation. Nobody will do this work for us. We need the pluralism of opinions, but it should not hamper our movement forward.

The issues concerning improving the work of authorities protecting law and order raised in the CPSU Central Committee's Theses are also fully applicable to us, officers of the Committee for State Security.

What is there that I disagree with? This is a rhetorical question. The Theses are, firstly, a material for deeper understanding of what is going on. I do not see in them any issues which would contradict with my ideology of a Communist-checkist.

The LiSSR KGB generally sees its task in helping the Party in its noble goal of renewing the Soviet society.

On the other hand, we cannot disregard facts, when under the appearance of supposedly protecting the interest of the Lithuanian peoples, nationalism is being kindled and discord between people of different ethnicities is being bred. There are people who stick to a principle that "the worse it is for the State, the better it is for me." They are few, but they are noisy, parasitizing on the process of democratization, and provoking the politically unstable people onto irresponsible actions which quite often are on the boundary of violating existing laws. It makes us all thoughtful. By the way, in connection with this, I would like to remind everyone that a wide open discussion of the existing problems under the conditions of democracy and glasnost is, as it was noted in the Theses, "productive only on the basis of socialism and in the name of socialism."

[Question] In your opinion, what is hampering the development of restructuring in the country?

[Answer] I was already telling that sometimes the pluralism of opinions overcomes the real, creative work. Idle talking, haste in making conclusions concerning assessment of the past, and the pursuit for cheap prestige distract from solving concrete tasks.

I liked the thought expressed by our historians when they asked not to be pressed to come up with hasty conclusions and to be allowed time for work with documents in order not to run again into subjectivism and distortions in the assessment of our history.

Here, it is necessary to say that some persons taking advantage of old wounds of the Lithuanian peoples are trying to gain a political capital of doubtful value and to show that the Party is in opposition to the Soviet society,

and are mixing up the distortions in activities of law and order authorities which took place in the past with their place and role in the system of protection of people and the Socialist state.

**[Question]** How are the functions, forms, and methods of the State Security being changed in connection with restructuring?

**[Answer]** The main function of KGB activities, namely, to provide security of the State and protection of the Soviet society, remains the same. It is directed against our exterior enemies organizing intelligence, subversive activities, and ideological diversions in the territory of the republic.

Under the new conditions the importance of the KGB divisions' work directed toward providing assistance to Party and Soviet authorities in solving problems of an educational nature is growing. In recent years, officers of the LiSSR KGB, which is being led by the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and Party organization of the republic, as well as by the USSR KGB directives, concentrated their main attention on preventative work and the use of prophylactics. We will make efforts by means of explanatory discussions to explain the nature of political errors being made by some citizens, thus preventing them from committing concrete criminal actions, which, otherwise, would result in invoking criminal laws. Unfortunately, the preventative work is not always effective. However, I can assure you that the KGB divisions do not carry out any repressions or actions not sanctioned by law, as the enemies of Socialism sometimes present. During the period since 1982 and up to now, 6 persons were brought to criminal justice for committing especially dangerous crimes against the State.

By the way, in accordance with the publication, "Statistics on Lithuania" (vol 12, 1939), during 1939 alone the bourgeois police arrested for progressive activities 7 persons who were convicted. This number does not include those political adversaries of Smetona who were temporarily subjected to preventative isolation without trial and investigation.

As it was repeatedly stated by the members of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, perestroika is on the march. The collective of KGB in our republic is also being restructured. We may have some shortcomings during this process, but the directive of the Party, namely, not to allow anybody to violate the Socialist laws and not to infringe on the rights and interests of Soviet citizens, is being carried out honestly.

We are seeking to increase the level of professionalism, competency of personnel, their general education, and knowledge of law. The Committee of the republic reinforces its ranks with the most prepared Communists and Komsomol members from working collectives. Not all of

them have legal education and sufficient life experience. Therefore, the leadership and our Party organizations are paying large attention to their education.

**[Question]** At the present time, the Party and the State carry out a tremendous work of rehabilitating people, who were illegally repressed during the time of Stalin's personality cult. How is it being done? Will the State Security inform the public more widely on the results of this activity in the future?

**[Answer]** The Committee for State Security of the republic at the request of procuracy is conducting certain investigative activities in order to check whether there were valid reasons for instituting criminal proceedings against, or deporting one or another person, and that these actions were in accordance with the laws and regulations acting at that time. We provide control in order to assure that procuracy's requests are carried out in the shortest time and with complete objectivity.

What are the guarantees that violation of Soviet laws will not be repeated in the future and what are we doing in this direction? First of all, the historical conditions, which in the past were allowing flagrant violations of the Socialist laws to be committed, are essentially changed. The role of the people's masses in governing the State has increased. Finally, the style and methods of the KGB work has changed, and a new generation of chekists appeared, who fully support the process of glasnost and democratization. Activities of the State Security are under control of Party organizations and in their field of vision. We are increasing the personal responsibility of each man for the job assigned to him. Conditions of intolerance toward even minor violations or facts of disdainful attitude toward the rights of Soviet citizens. However, we must admit that not all operative agents have learned the requirements and lessons of perestroika yet and sometimes facts of formalism and bureaucratism are still taking place. We actively fight against these phenomena.

The strength of the State Security was always in its strong ties with the people. We are using all available methods in order to strengthen these ties and make our work understandable to every resident of the republic.

Therefore, we try to meet more often with the working collectives, creative intelligentsia, and youth, and we appreciate honest articles in the press.

We are revising materials the Committee has in order to prevent them from being used for violation of the rights of one or another person. At the same time, during this work we saw the other side of the coin. Thus, up to now it was thought that during the post-war years of strengthening the Soviet power in Lithuania, 13,000 people were killed by bourgeois nationalists. Today we established that the number of such victims is over 25,000 people including women and children based on documents concerning each separate case. In order to establish the

truth and to honor the memory of the victims, we are ready to submit the files of our killed compatriots to historians for scientific research. This material should be published. This would help to liquidate the blank spots of history.

On the other hand, we together with the Ministry of Interior Affairs are comparing materials concerning residents of Soviet Lithuania who were deported outside the boundaries of the republic during 1941-1952.

I can assure you with full responsibility that the number of 300,000 - 400,000 people deported from the republic, which is being used by certain organizations of reactionary emigrants and the Western mass information media, is tendentiously overestimated 3-fold. I would like to add with chagrin that the numbers invented "from the other side" are quite often repeated not only by the hostile elements, but also by some ignorant people here.

The data revised for accuracy concerning this subject will be transferred to the Institute of Party history for analysis and publication.

As it has already been published in the press, in 1941, 15,562 residents of Lithuania were deported. Part of them were deported without their families. I would like to specify the social composition of these people. Among those, 5,536 who were deported were active figures of bourgeois parties and members of anti-Soviet underground organizations; 1,582 leading officers of the police apparatus; 221 military personnel of bourgeois and Tsar's armies; 3,165 former landlords, factory owners, and responsible figures of the bourgeois power apparatus; 1,430 landlords, factory owners, and businessmen who arrived after escaping from Poland; 449 prostitutes; and others.

Looking back at the past with the eyes of today, we must admit that these actions were carried out based on unconstitutional directives. They did not provide the anticipated results, because together with the anti-Soviet elements people, who did not have hostile intentions, suffered.

**[Question] As a delegate of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, what are your thoughts about what you would like to share with our readers?**

**[Answer]** This is a very broad question. Therefore, I would like to dwell on only one side of this question. I will touch on the ties with abroad. The process of democratization broadens the international connections of the republic. More and more guests are coming to Lithuania and the number of our citizens traveling abroad has been increased. I would like to see that during their stay in a foreign country and when they meet foreigners here, they would not forget about their high status of a Soviet citizen, would not lose their civic self-conscience and national dignity.

Being a Lithuanian by nationality and an internationalist by spirit, I cannot understand the nationalistic extremism and ethnic self-conceit as well as chauvinistic ways. Our enemies are trying to scare us with the problem of "Russification," and some of them dream about Lithuania being ruled by the bourgeoisie of yesterday. I think that any realistically thinking person, who objectively assesses Lithuania's past and complex turns in her fate, recognizes that our people preserved their national identity and national culture only because they belong to the friendly family of brotherly peoples of the USSR.

Finally, I want to believe that every resident of the republic will make an input within his powers into ideological, moral, and economic renewal of Soviet Lithuania, which selected the only correct path of her development, that is, Socialism.

13355

#### **MVD Drafts Act Changing Structure of Investigation Apparatus**

18000541a Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
15 Jun 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Press Conference at the USSR MVD"]

[Text] The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, together with other law enforcement agencies, at the request of the CPSU Central Committee, has developed and submitted to appropriate authorities a draft of rules and bylaws for removal of investigative departments from local and republican internal affairs organizations and integrating them into a newly created centralized investigative body responsible to the Main Investigation Directorate of the USSR MVD.

This was announced by USSR Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, Lt Gen Police B. Zabolotniy at a press conference that took place yesterday in Moscow.

The theory of the radical restructuring of investigative organs is based on a thorough reassessment of past experience. An analysis of that experience has revealed a number of negative consequences of placing investigative entities under the supervision of police agencies. By being part of the structure and staff of the police, a procedurally independent service of preliminary investigation has gradually been turned into yet another police function.

At a number of internal affairs agencies, this situation was used not so much to combat crime but to create an appearance of progress in solving crimes and at times led to serious violations of socialist justice.

It was noted at the press conference that those negative phenomena can no longer be tolerated today, when the party and the society have demanded of law enforcement agencies to stop all forms of legal violations in their work.

To develop normative and legal foundations for the imminent reorganization of the investigative apparatus, several departments, collectively responsible for nearly one third of all investigations, a experiment is currently being conducted to work out structural, organizational and other aspects of their activity under new conditions.

Lt Gen Police B.Zabotin, director of the Main Investigation Directorate of the USSR MVD, Lt Gen Justice B.Novikov and other high officials of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs answered numerous questions.

12892

#### **Communications Ministry Examines Delays in International Mail**

*18000541b Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jul 88 p 4*

[Article by TASS correspondent A.Bykov, special for IZVESTIYA, and V.Zaykin: "International Letters Often Sent on a Wild Goose Chase" under the "Details for IZVESTIYA" rubric; first paragraph is a boldface introduction]

[Text] Why does it take so long for letters from abroad to reach their destination? Why do they at times fail to reach the addressee or arrive opened? Why do they occasionally return to the sender after a long journey? To take a closer look at this problem we visited the USSR Ministry of Communications; V.Kokarev, deputy director of postal communications, invited us to see the postal "kitchen" with our own eyes.

Since about a year ago, the International Post Office has been located in a modern white building on Moscow's Varshavskoye Highway, at No.37. Correspondence from every part of the world is gathered there.

"We constantly hear complaints that letters are delayed here," said V.Nazarov, deputy director of the international post office. "However, the charges are often unfounded. Practically in every mail bag that you see before you there are delayed letters; let us open a bag, any one you want."

We chose a bag from New York, which had just arrived by air mail. A post office employee, using a special tool, removed dated seals and we took out a stack of letters. We looked at the postal stamps: some letters were delayed from 3 weeks to 4 months.

To completely dispel the doubts, we open two more bags. One was from Barcelona, Spain, and the other from Sydney, Australia. Most letters were very recent, dated

five days to a week previously. Yet, among them we found a few ghosts, mailed a month or a month and a half ago. Some letters were open or sealed sloppily, with scotch tape. A letter mailed a month ago from Rostok, GDR, to Arkhangelsk for some reason made a round trip across the Atlantic, went to New York and only now was going to its addressee via Moscow. Apparently, the post office in the GDR had sent it in the opposite direction by mistake.

"The addressees will blame us, of course," said postal employees. "There is no way of proving to them that it is not our fault. In the USSR, our way of writing the address is unlike anywhere else in the world. We write the address of the recipient in the upper right-hand corner, under the stamp. Underneath it we write the return address. Abroad, it is done the other way around. So it happens sometimes that a letter sent from here to Canada is shipped back from the post office. It can be mistaken for a letter sent from Canada."

"Why wouldn't we introduce the same system as everywhere else in the world?"

"This involves different postal code and envelope standards. The faster this problem is resolved by the appropriate departments of the Ministry of Communications, the better."

As a museum piece we were shown a letter that has been traveling through world postal channels since 1953! The address was written in an unknown language and the letters could not be made out. So the letter has been bouncing around the world over for 30 years without anyone being able to decipher the address. It has practically fallen apart; some kind-hearted postal employees have sealed it in plastic and sent it on.

We were also shown an entire stack of letters without an address. There was only the last name of a recipient, and sometimes the country.

"Vanka Zhukov lives on," said A.Aldonin, head of Shop No.1, smiling. "People still write 'to the village, to Grandpa' sometimes. This is because they are forgetful, of course. Letters with a return address could be sent back to the sender, but sometimes even that is missing. What should be done with such letters?"

Sometimes delays are caused by difficulties with transportation. For instance, letters from India, if not sent by air, always travel slowly, since in that case they are shipped by sea and arrive 6 or 7 months later.

In some countries, we were told, the post office holds letters until an entire bag is full. This also causes considerable delays.

"I get some 30 complaints a day," complained the post office's deputy director. "For the full quarter we got 520 of them! Not all of them are justified, far from it. For a

long time, for instance, an Italian newspaper correspondent in Moscow used to complain that his mail was delayed. Finally, we invited him here, to the international post office. In his presence, we opened a bag from Italy where he found a letter addressed to him which was three weeks old. But we can't invite everyone here to plead our case. As a rule, letters get processed here in 48 hours, in three days at most."

"The entire process of sorting incoming mail was meant to be fully automated," added the head of the shop. "An automated line was supposed to carry mail bags up into the sorting room from the lower floors and deliver them for sorting. Yet, despite the abundance of technology everything still has to be done by hand."

"Why?"

"The Lvov industrial group 'Kombayn' has delayed the start-up of its machinery for a full year. They have been installing it for a long time, but have not finished yet. I wish they started it already, since people now must carry the bags on their shoulders."

"Nevertheless, some readers are upset when they get their letters from abroad a week, ten days or even more after they have been stamped at the local post office. Here at least, the fault clearly lies with our postal system. What did happen to those letters?"

"I personally am not aware of any such cases."

"Furthermore, a recent article 'Customs Control: New Rules' (IZVESTIYA, No.85) was taken by many readers to mean that new customs regulations are in effect, whereas they are only now being developed at the USSR Council of Ministers' Main Department of State Customs Control. As a result, mailings of banned materials have risen sharply."

We entered the customs control area, which is located right there, at the post office. Three people work at each table: two postal workers who open and reseal packages and a customs inspector who assesses customs duty.

A package from Paris, containing four toy Mercedes automobiles was opened. The inspector, after picking them up and holding them in his hands, assessed 6 rubles of customs duty.

We asked him how he arrived at that sum. After thinking it over for a while, the inspector changed the number.

"One ruble 20 kopeks." "Is this for the whole thing or for each toy separately?" "The whole thing."

One table over was where suspicious letters are opened, i.e., those which are thought to contain forbidden materials.

For instance, there were three letters from Rumania. The handwriting on the envelopes was identical and the letters were thick, not transparent and sealed thoroughly. The inspector opened them and removed several sheets of postage stamps from each envelope.

"It is forbidden to mail stamps in envelopes," he announced filling out the confiscation report. "The only official channel to exchange stamps is through the All-Union Philatelist Society. That is all."

"But what if the person is a collector?"

"It is forbidden. Article 99 of the USSR Customs Code."

"Now, let me say something about new customs rules," said M.Lanskiy, deputy director of the Moscow Central Customs Office. "They are not in effect yet. In our work, we have to go by the Customs Code of 1964. It contains many obsolete prohibitions and restrictions. There are some 30 prohibitions, but only 5 or 6 of them will remain."

"For instance, there is a ban on sending fabrics and items made of natural fibers from the USSR: no wool, linen or cotton, not even items containing blends of those fibers. It has clearly become obsolete. Now we have plenty of cotton and other fabrics. That ban was introduced when it was impossible to obtain even bed sheets."

"Or, due to the ban on sending precious metals out of the country, sending objects made of German silver is also prohibited, since the alloy contains some silver. Yet, many people want to send German silver objects such as silverware. There is plenty of German silver in our stores, yet it still is not allowed to send it abroad."

"Also, people often complain that they are charged excessively high amounts as customs duty, which were also established a long time ago. I can tell you that those rates, approved by the USSR Council of Ministers, were set without regard for the price of the object here or in the country where they were produced. Tariffs will be reviewed for a reduction, but it is a difficult process requiring coordination with organizations that will be affected by this."

"It is forbidden to send to the USSR any medical drugs. We have been removing them from packages. Yet, if the recipient obtains the permission to receive those drugs at the Ministry of Health, we will let them through. Many people have done this. Drugs may be sent from the USSR accompanied by a prescription from the country of destination."

"No seeds or seedlings may be sent to the USSR, this is a quarantine problem. But the solution here is to obtain a so-called quarantine certificate, and then it is allowed."

"To avoid misunderstandings, we urge anyone who has any kind of doubts to check with us at the international post office before sending their mail abroad. Write to us at Moscow, Varshavskoye Highway, 37a, International Post Office."

We had known that there were problems with international mail even before we visited the post office.

However, the postal officials, having placed almost all the blame on foreign postal services, have failed to convince us that the domestic system is blameless. Even letters sent from Moscow to Moscow Oblast may take a full week to get there.

Maybe they go through New York.

12892

### **Sociologist on Women's Changing Roles, Sexual Equality**

18120092 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 24, 19-26 Jun 88 p 13

[Interview with Maya Pankratova by Natalya Kraminova; first paragraph MOSCOW NEWS comment]

[Text] Today our educated women, who should be enjoying full equality, in fact find themselves in a sort of social trap making it impossible for them to realize their talents. "We are not just discussing the women's question today because we realize it is time, it is simply an objective need. Perestroyka cannot be successful without changes in the conditions of work and home life for women and without a rethinking of the attitude to them," says Maya Pankratova, a well-known sociologist who, for many years now, has been studying public opinion on the status of women and of the family in the USSR.

[Question] How do you understand the new thinking regarding the women's question?

[Answer] We still apply the old stereotype of the all-capable and resilient woman. Yes, she can do everything but she doesn't want to anymore. We must understand the need for basic changes in the conditions for women.

[Question] A sort of paradox emerges today. Society is undergoing perestroyka, but the press is all the time calling on a woman to go back home. What do you think about this?

[Answer] This is a reaction to the complex problems that have appeared in society: the persistently high divorce rate, the alarmingly low birthrate in all the Republics, except in the south, the inadequate upbringing of many young people, and the double load suffered by working women.

True, the country cannot do without working women, even if labour productivity grows. But every woman must have the opportunity to choose whether to work, how much to work and in what conditions. When asked if they would like to give up work, 80 per cent of women answer: "No, not even if I could afford to," while 20 per cent say that they'd willingly give work up. And this 80-20 ratio is the same for the countryside and towns—which means that every fifth woman thinks she is not in her proper place. And we sociologists speak of the need to raise family benefits in order to give mothers the opportunity to choose between the family and work. We talk of giving motherhood and the task of bringing up children the status of socially useful labour. But, to date, family benefits are very low in our country—much lower than in Western Europe.

[Question] Is the prestige of the working mother as high as it used to be at home? Women are paid less than men and have fewer opportunities to make a bright career. No wonder there are no women in the Politbureau, no women ministers of Union ministries, and only one woman ambassador. But then, neither are there many women at home. Isn't that so?

[Answer] On average, women think that their work in production helps the family climate, and disagree that their families suffer from the fact that so much of their time is devoted to work. There is more money, you develop a broader outlook and there is more opportunity to improve life. In the eyes of her children and husband the working mother enjoys greater prestige. Nevertheless, the contradiction between production and household chores for women remains one of the most acute problems in our life today.

Which women make a bright career in the West? Well-to-do women, with few problems about who to leave the children with, or what to cook for dinner. In their spare time they don't have to think constantly about home life. And in our country women very seldom answer "yes" when asked if they think about their work when they are at home, whereas the men, as a rule, do say "yes." They are free of household problems and their traditional mentality is that their main concern is with things outside the family, and that the latter is the woman's concern.

Women do not always earn less than men, however. Polls in the Baltic Republics showed that, in every tenth family, the women earned more than the men.

In the future, I think, women will be able to go to the top more confidently. Each new generation of women is more educated than the previous one, and more oriented towards professional success. And then our home life should get better; we have started improving it at long last.

[Question] Do you think that our badly organized home life is the main brake on the women's progress?

[Answer] There are many "brakes" in the women's question. Psychological—from the first grade girls are taught "as mothers" and boys "as workers," and thus the foundations of inequality are laid. Later on, at work, people do not wish to encourage the movement of women up the professional hierarchy, and generally do not take women's role at work seriously. While for us our home life is just awful, with all these difficulties: scarcities, queues, the sudden disappearance of certain necessities. All this robs us not only of time, but of spiritual force as well; and you can only do a job properly when you are concentrated on it.

[Question] Do you agree that there is sexual discrimination in our country?

[Answer] As I see it, we have no conscious discrimination. But due to the above-mentioned, and other reasons—historical and present-day social reasons—our country lacks the sufficient number of energetic, talented and clever women, from which we could select the very best to be our leaders. You see, leadership is a job for the select few, but you initially need to choose from a great number of candidates.

After carrying out opinion polls, sociologists do not feel that male chauvinism is a problem. The men and the women rarely answered "yes" when asked whether they thought that "men stood up too much for each other in the face of women."

On the other hand, there is a reluctance in the production field to understand a woman's needs. For example, when the law allowing mothers with small children to work part-time was published, the administrators in production did not hurry to apply it, because it was too difficult and troublesome. And anyway the clause: "On agreement with the administration" was attached. This has since been removed. Still, it is more a juridical conflict than a conflict between the sexes.

[Question] An American woman sociologist was surprised that people in our country attached, as she put it, colossal significance to a person's private life, in particular, to whether or not a woman is married. Is that really so? Is the family still of great value to us? Haven't divorces damaged it?

[Answer] No. When asked what they see as the main element of happiness, 80 per cent of women and 70 per cent of men say: "a good family." True, lately, more people have been saying: "freedom" or "more travel."

Research has proved one thing, however. There are women who just don't need a family, women who are simply not fit for it, although they think that they have simply been unlucky in family life. This thought is somewhat seditious, because society is alarmed by the problem of the low birthrate. And still, there are women who should mainly be concerned with their profession. But on the whole, the subject of marriage is a painful one for women, quite often because their hopes for a life with the man they love have been smashed.

The main thing is to provide the opportunity for some to make a career and for others to concentrate on the family. This way it will be easier for the first to go to the top, while the others will not have to make believe they are interested in their work.

[Question] In the past we used to promote women to leading posts. What do you think about this?

[Answer] It was bad, as everything artificial is bad. There may have been cases when it was really necessary to promote the very best from among the mass of workers. But now we no longer need to do this. It would be better if, instead of doing everything according to orders from above, we allowed natural growth from below and throughout.

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**Ashkhabad Still Suffering Effects of Hushed-Up  
1948 Earthquake**

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[Article by Staff Correspondent M. Meleshenko: "The Long Echo of '48"; first paragraph is unattributed source introduction]

[Text] Mikhail Meleshenko, our staff correspondent for the Turkmen SSR, has begun work in Ashkhabad. Today we offer his first article for the reader's attention.

Ashkhabad—The first frames of this documentary film probably arouse in many people a sense of something that they have already seen sometime on the screen or that has been recorded in documentary photographs that are widely known to the whole world. A city turned into a heap of ruins. What is it? The consequences of a nuclear explosion? On that terrible October night death struck suddenly not from the heavens but from the depths of the earth. Nonetheless, it was no accident that the thought of an atomic bombing evidently occurred to many people who experienced the whole horror of those 10 catastrophic seconds.

"On the night of 5-6 October 1948 Ashkhabad ceased to exist."

This is a line from the book "The Ashkhabad Earthquake and Assistance from the USSR's Peoples," which was published 11 years ago by the Ylym Izdatelstvo and quickly became a bibliographic rarity.

The day after the earthquake, Roman Karmen arrived by plane in destroyed Ashkhabad (the city continued to be shaken by six- and seven-point quakes). Together with Vladimir Lavrov, a cameraman from a local film studio, he shot hundreds of harsh and tragic frames of human grief and recorded the truly heroic work of medical and military personnel, builders and hundreds upon thousands of people who came to help Ashkhabad's inhabitants. Roman Karmen was supposed to and wanted to tell about this in his future film.

The Ashkhabad earthquake of 1948 set records in many categories. It was the most destructive in our country's history. And, as strange as it may seem, the least known and most secret. For many years a stern taboo imposed by Stalin himself lay on information regarding the true dimensions of the disaster that befell Turkmenia's capital. That is the reason for the unenviable fate of the unique documentary film shot by Karmen and his assistant in destroyed Ashkhabad. Their work was reliably hidden as far as possible from human eyes in the voracious secret vaults of the infamous "special storage." Why, it was thought, should our Soviet people be upset by some sort of natural disasters?

The secrecy of the Ashkhabad tragedy especially wounded to the quick those who had survived that October night in 1948. Viktor Kuzmich Lisunov, the driver of a motor transport organization, told me:

"For a long time, almost a year, following that most terrible quake the city continued to experience quakes. Many people wanted to leave, fearing that what had happened might be repeated. But no one was allowed to leave the city. Why? I think it was feared that we, as eyewitnesses to the tragedy, would spread unwanted information about the country. I remember that we were warned: in letters to relatives—as little as possible about the victims and destruction; write that nothing terrible happened."

The path of Karmen and Lavrov's film to the light of day proved to be a long one. In 1976 frames that they had shot in October 1948 were returned to Ashkhabad. There they were made into a documentary film with what, in my view, was a not especially apt title: "Ashkhabad Epic," and an attempt was made to distribute it for showing. It was unsuccessful. The film awaited its hour for another 10 years. Finally, last fall Turkmenia's television viewers were able to see it. There is still a hitch—purely technical, one must assume—holding up the screening of the film in theaters.

But what, if one analyzes the matter, caused the ban on these shots? What is the film about?

"It would be a good idea to arrange for it to be shown in every school; after all, it is a model of internationalism in action. What a great deal could be told to schoolchildren by the scenes of the assistance that the whole country provided to the ruined city...."

That is from a report by S. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, at a recent plenum of the central committee. For 40 years—40!—film scenes that turn out to have great educational significance were kept under cover of strict secrecy. How offensive it is for us, who reconciled ourselves to all sorts of didactic nonsense and arbitrary actions.

In talking about how the secrecy imposed on the consequences of the Ashkhabad earthquake cut people to the quick, I especially had in mind the residents of Khlopaul.

I saw that region of Ashkhabad precisely the way it was, according to the testimony of long-standing inhabitants, after the earthquake. Pathetic temporary structures assembled out of God knows what sort of building materials press against one another, whether ashamed of their squalid looks or in an effort to support one another and keep one another from falling. They lack even the most elementary conditions for civilized human life. Nonetheless, people are living in them. Many people

About 3,000 people live on a territory of 1,500 square kilometers strewn with squalid huts. Each temporary (one-room) building contains two or even three families.

They moved into these buildings nearly 40 years ago. Moved into them temporarily.

Resting on a cane, 70-year-old Gurbanguly Atayev, a disabled war veteran, comes up to us.

"They promised to move everyone out of here in two or three years and give us good apartments. That was written in a government decree, we were told, but here we have been living to this day. I have 11 children and grandchildren living with me. I don't need an apartment any more; I'll die here. But this is no place for them, the young ones, to live.

One of Gurbanguly Atayev's sons, Ata Gurbangulyyev, a member of the USSR Artists' Union and folk jewelry maker (zerger), and his family were lucky. Last year they received a modern apartment in one of the city's housing developments. His modest jewelry shop stands alongside his father's temporary structure. In it is practically the only telephone in all Khlop-aul. After all, what's the use of a phone there? The inhabitants of Khlop-aul go without running water, street lights or city transportation. Every day they make their way to work and back on whatever God—Allah, that is—provides.

In Khlop-aul there is a great deal that should in no way exist so many decades after the earthquake: unsanitary conditions that are unthinkable for our time, and unsettled living arrangements that are practically on the level of a camp; in short, everything that is determined by the temporary nature of the housing. But more than anything, it seemed to me, there is patience in Khlop-aul. Unlimited, stoic patience.

I saw the film made from the frames shot by Karmen and Lavrov in October 1948 in a working office of the Turkmen SSR State Archives. There I met a very interesting person—Aleksey Vladimirovich Golovkin. He is a native Muscovite and came to Ashkhabad on assignment, for two years. But he has been living in that city for 40 years now, since November 1948. For the past 30 years he has been in charge of the republic State Archives. He is now retired on pension but continues to work. For many years Golovkin waged a quiet but very persistent struggle—one that required considerable courage for those times—against the secrecy imposed on the Ashkhabad earthquake and against attempts to hide the truth about the disaster of '48. His painstaking labor over many years in alliance with other archivists and representatives of party and soviet agencies and the city's public finally made it possible to reveal the main secret of the tragedy and specify the number of victims of the 1948 earthquake. A terrible figure: of the 132,000 people living in Ashkhabad at the time of the disaster, 110,000 perished.

The survivors were dispersed among temporary buildings, tents, and little Finnish panel houses shipped from Russia. Now, of course, not a trace remains of those tents, but the Finnish houses intended to last for 20 years of use continue to serve, and as for the temporary structures like those in Khlop-aul...

"There are still 2,700 temporary buildings with 18,000 residents. The elements have complicated the accomplishment of tasks in the social sphere."

This was stated not in 1950, and not 20 years ago. It was stated in May 1988, from the rostrum at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

But, to be sure, Ashkhabad does not live by Khlop-aul alone. Albeit more slowly than one would like and that ought to be, the capital nonetheless gradually arose from the ruins, taking on the look of a modern city with spacious streets and squares, landscaped housing developments, and an abundance of greenery and fountains.

Present-day Ashkhabad unquestionably merits a separate and, possibly, even poetically enthusiastic narrative about the twice-born city, a city of love (which is the literal translation of "Ashkhabad" from the Turkmen), a toiling city. But after an encounter with Khlop-aul and other, very similar places in the Turkmen capital, you realize how much still remains to be done.

Present-day Ashkhabad is first and foremost a city of many unsolved social and service problems. Problems of water supply and electricity. In many of its modern housing developments, the inhabitants of upper stories regularly suffer from a lack of water. The upper stories, by Ashkhabad standards, are those that start with the third.

Interruptions in electric power are a familiar thing. Air conditioners are an invariable attribute of almost every apartment in Ashkhabad, and in the summer when they are turned on, the load on local power lines rises sharply, transformers explode, and then many of the city's rayons are plunged for a long time into impenetrable darkness.

In the capital of the republic that occupies second place in the union in the extraction of natural gas, a substantial part of the housing stock lacks gas supply, and only in recent years was a serious attempt launched to tackle that problem.

In the Ashkhabad City Soviet Ispolkim I was shown a report on the state of the Turkmen capital's municipal services compared to other cities in the region. With regard to almost every index—the provision of housing, the amount of consumer and transportation services, the aforementioned supplying of gas to the housing stock, the number of openings in children's preschool institutions, etc.—Ashkhabad is significantly inferior to Frunze, Dushanbe, Alma-Ata and Tashkent.

Alas, the roots of the city's social and cultural backwardness go back not only to 1948 but to years much closer to our time. The years of stagnation. Over the course of an entire decade, right up to the mid- 1980's, the city economy's infrastructure received practically no development, and housing and other social and cultural facilities were built at a snail's pace. Ashkhabad is truly a city of construction projects that are record-setters for duration. The building of the music academy here has been under construction for nearly a quarter century, for example.

On the other hand, private homes for the local "leaders" were built in record time, with top-quality workmanship and on the basis of original designs. This has already been written about in the central press, and I will not repeat it. I will only mention the scope with which some of the republic's former executives undertook to construct accommodations for themselves. In a two-story private home intended for one of them, it was planned to build banquet and video rooms, a swimming pool and even a concert stage! According to requests! The floor space of this residential building that never became one can be judged by the fact that it presently houses, with enormous conveniences, the staffs of Ashkhabad's Proletarskiy Party Raykom and Rayon Soviet Ispolkom.

The process of recovering health and moral cleansing that is going on in our country has not bypassed the republic party organization. One example. In the very center of Ashkhabad a 40-apartment building with a very convenient and fashionable layout was recently turned over for occupancy. The building was intended for improving the housing conditions mainly of officials of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee and the republic Council of Ministers. At the insistence of the Central Committee buro, the apartments in the building have been allocated (with rare exception) to large families of workers and disabled war and labor veterans.

Remarkable innovations, aren't they? But, alas, neither the altruism of individual executives nor the most revolutionary, in principle, but nonetheless limited, in terms of funding, noble steps to meet the needs of people will relieve the full acuteness of the problem. What is needed is a specific, comprehensive program for the capital's social, consumer-service and cultural development. A program of decisive, prompt, thoroughly considered and well-coordinated actions.

Well, it turns out, such a program exists. In a document adopted two years ago, literally everything is spelled out. More than 20 ministries and departments have received corresponding assignments. All that, of course, provided an impetus for speeding up the rates of capital construction, landscaping and the development of the city economy as a whole. But frankly speaking, it was an impetus of insufficient force, registered only on very sensitive seismic instruments that record changes in terms of social and consumer services in the city's life. Housing has been added, but the addition has been barely half

what was projected as of this summer. Places have been added in schools and preschool institutions, but once again, they have amounted to only two-thirds of what was called for in the program. In comparison to the previous five-year period, it would seem that the builders have pulled themselves together, but the plan for construction and installation work regularly goes unfulfilled. About 18,000 Ashkhabad residents have been waiting forever to be moved from squalid temporary buildings to modern apartments. It would be possible to speed up this process, which has plainly been drawn out, by allocating people lots for individual construction. It would be possible, and Ashkhabad was authorized to do so back in 1986. But do you know how many square meters of land has been allocated to Ashkhabad residents for building houses in the past two and a half years? Not a one! It turns out that it has been absolutely impossible to determine the allocation of lots at the local level, although that was supposed to have been done in just two months according to the government decision!

But something else must be recalled: a tunnel is dug, as we know, from two ends. Not just local authorities are responsible for the gap between words and deeds, between what was planned and what actually exists. It is time to ask the comrades from the center what they have done to help Ashkhabad. And did they help?

Among the deputies elected in the republic to the USSR Supreme Soviet is V. Dinkov, the country's minister of the petroleum industry. Recently a plenum of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee named V. Chernomyrdin, USSR minister of the gas industry, as one of the delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Now they, most likely, could provide concrete, substantive assistance in solving many of the city's problems. But let us recall how the supplying of gas to the housing stock has gone in that natural-gas-rich region. And how does one explain the fact alone that for a whole two years materials, machinery and equipment promised to the city from the center for reinforcing the republic's construction industry were "detained" somewhere en route to Ashkhabad? These are branches without which it is unthinkable to speak of development, forward movement, and the untangling of the tight knots of the numerous social and cultural problems, the persistent echoes of the tragedy of '48 and the bitter fruits of the era of stagnation.

The Ashkhabad earthquake was a record setter for yet another, extremely distressing reason—it is cheated in terms of the memory of its victims. The city does not even have a modest memorial plaque dedicated to that sad event, not to speak of a monument. Now the ice has broken. A competition has been announced for the best design of a monument to the earthquake victims. Heated debates are going on over the works presented for the competition (they are displayed in the exhibit hall of the Turkmen SSR Art Fund). Views have been shared about the monument site.

I do not know which design will win, and it is probably not for me to judge the most suitable site for the monument. But I would like, paraphrasing the poet's widely known words, to say that, of course, Ashkhabad itself can and should become the best monument to the victims of '48. Without

Khlop-aul. Without the numerous extremely acute social and service problems that prevent our people from living as they should and as they deserve.

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12 Sept, 1988